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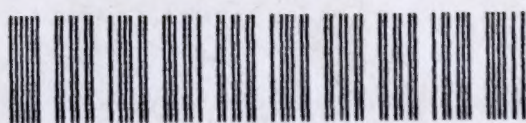
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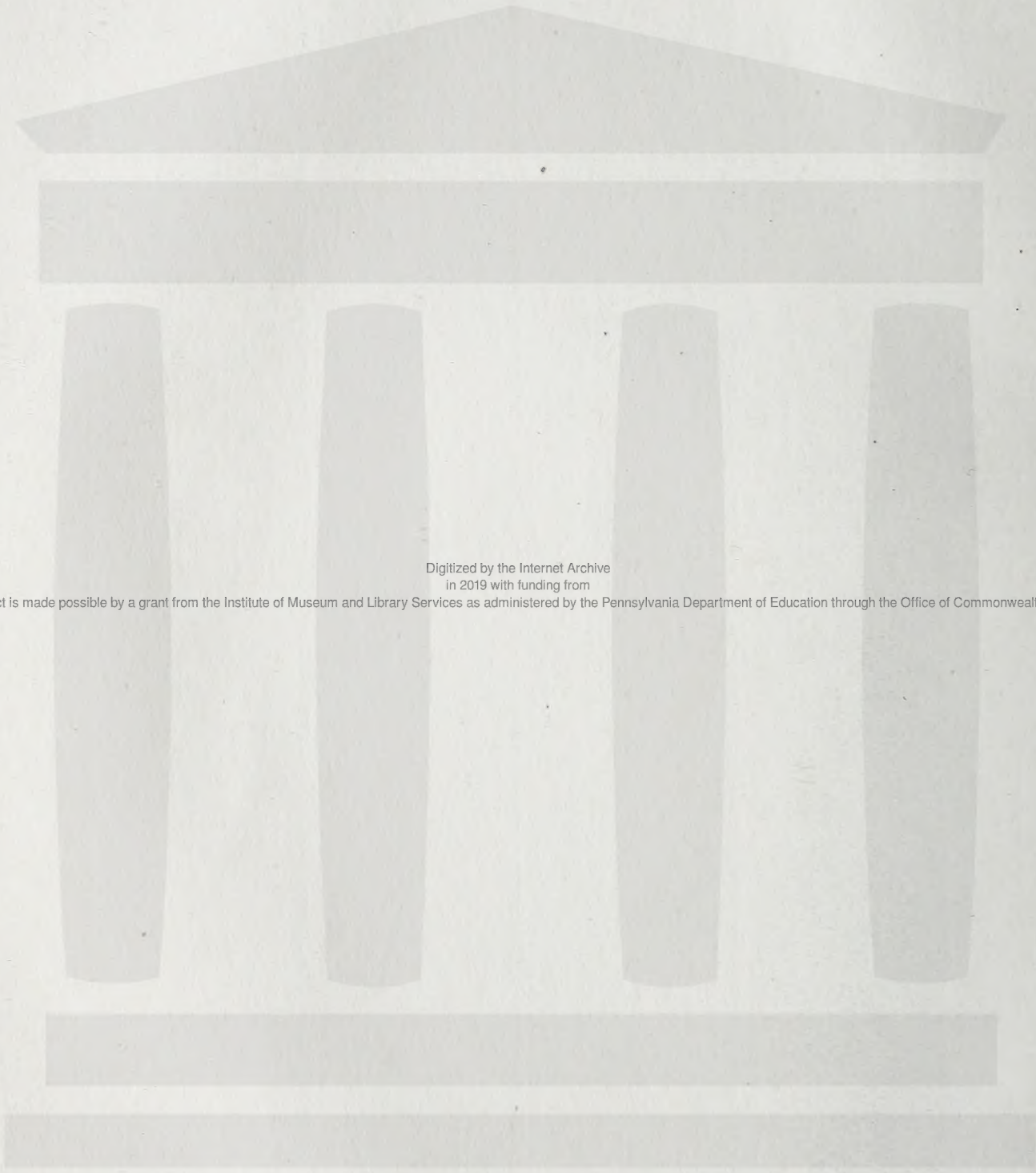












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THE  
REFORMED CHURCH  
REVIEW.

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YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE

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# THE REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

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No. 1.—JANUARY—1912.

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## I.

### A PROBLEM OF AMERICAN EDUCATION.

GARRETT W. THOMPSON, UNIVERSITY OF MAINE.

THE problem of American education has never lacked serious consideration on the part of those to whom our national institutions are objects of concern and veneration. The utterances of men high in official influence show unmistakable earnestness; the popular response as reflected in the press betrays a no less earnest attitude among those who are capable of expressing public sentiment; and many whose diffidence denies them such utterance await enlightenment with an eagerness which attests how sincere the desire is to know the truth.

It cannot be denied, however, that the general situation would be more assuring if there were greater agreement among scholars as to the normal end and aim of education itself. It is possible that these opposing views may produce a resultant, or serve by their diversity to maintain an equilibrium among educational forces. But the present uncertainty will not engender public confidence, and probably not until unity of ideal as well as uniformity of practice are reached can we expect the solution of a problem which is as vital as it is far-reaching.

No discussion of American education would be fair if it ignored the beliefs which are held by practical business men.



They have developed activities whose proportions the human mind can scarcely grasp. Begun in small things and extending through a line of continuous evolution this present greatness represents a most rational achievement. Sacrifice, frugality and enterprise have attended its development, and its attainment has been possible only by the display and use of those splendid powers which have made our republic conspicuous among the nations of the world. The pioneers of this commercial greatness had no time for personal education; they learned in the school of experience. And as the system grew more complex; as each new opportunity seemed to beget other and greater opportunities, demand on time and energy became more imperative. Men felt self-centered in their business life; success was inseparably associated with commercial values and power came to be reckoned in terms of financial units.

But if these achievements came without a college education, they were not the result of blind effort. The practical man knows clearly how he won success, and his knowledge rests on an empiricism whose claims it is difficult to oppose. Natural shrewdness of mind, good habits, tireless energy and willingness to work one's way patiently from small beginnings—these are the materials from which fortunes have been made, and from whose use certain working principles of conduct have been evolved. Men come thus to believe that experience is the best, or rather the only, teacher; that the mental powers instead of being ultra-developed by college training need only to be organized in the school of practical life; that work is to be done with the least possible loss of time and energy; that economy of time and labor means saving of expense; that these modern days demand modern methods, for which reason also the past is of little use for the purposes of imitation; that the practical ideal of life is to make a living.

If, then, the college idea enters little into this belief it is not because the practical man is insincere or superficial in his views, but only that experience, as he views it, is ample to meet life's most exacting demands and that the college graduate does not seem to possess any power or training which makes



him superior to men at large or better equipped for the world's work. Unless, therefore, the college can offer something which the young man cannot get elsewhere, and something which greatly enhances his value and efficiency as a worker, a college education is not necessary to the attainment of success.

On the other hand, the college idea assumes the necessity of education and offers its courses to those who seek preparation for life. The curriculum was formerly arranged according to the principle that such preparation required the maximum cultural breadth, which was to be found only in a study of the Latin and Greek classics, or rather which could not be realized without them. This view has in later years been condemned as traditional and narrow; scientific studies are assigned a paramount value in general education. Their introduction has necessitated ample laboratory facilities and greatly changed the general character of the college idea. Supplementary to the scientific propaganda has been the growth of interest in modern languages, preëminently French and German, and they have been heralded as worthy and capable of representing and serving the spirit of culture which was so long thought to be the sole prerogative of the old humanities. The influx of the new studies has in later years greatly crowded the curriculum and placed more courses at the disposal of the student than he could possibly use. To offset this congestion the elective system was promulgated and the hope entertained that he could be trained thus to select materials for a broad education in a manner which would do justice to his individual needs and temperament. This multiplication of courses and departments has complicated the college idea, and it must be confessed that over against the ideal of the practical man the college presents a view which lacks the convincing power of unity.

We would find less difficulty in coördinating our notions of education and courses of instruction if the end of education were more clearly and more universally discerned. Is it intellectual proficiency? Or character? Or citizenship? Shall we train the whole man for general service? Or develop



specific powers for specific ends? Should the student choose his vocation and then converge all his lines of study toward it? Or should he seek the atmosphere of education in order that by living in it he may be led ultimately to a definite calling? The child enters the kindergarten and passes successively through the primary, grammar and high school; he spends four years at college, supplementing them with post-graduate work at the university, and then enters upon his duties in the larger world. This long scholastic experience is in no sense a preparation for life; every step is life itself. Life begins with the first conscious thinking, and kindergarten is merely that point in the student's career at which the kindergarten influence touches his destiny. The same is true of each grade in the educational process, and this relationship of scholastic influence continues as long as the student retains his connection with an institution of learning. The course of activity which he adopts after graduation is no more life than his previous experiences, but he has now become an independent personality; he no longer receives but gives, and he is valued largely by the contribution of service which he makes to his generation. It is therefore the fact of his independence of personality which leads (or misleads?) us to ascribe a paramount value to this last period of his life, and life to him is just that set or series of relationships which comprise the sum total of his experience.

If life, then, is a series of relationships, that form of education is best which anticipates the greatest number of these relationships and gives the student power to operate them with most comprehensive results. And surely that ideal of education is highest which aims to acquaint the student with what lies before him, so that he meets life's issues forearmed because forewarned. The weakness of specific training is that it enables the student to meet too few of life's relationships and leaves him to deal with many whose existence—let alone whose nature—he had not dreamed of. The danger of an absolutely general training is that it is likely to lack depth and to touch life's relationships too lightly. But we are nearest the true



ideal of education when we believe that its highest function is the interpretation of life and its relationships, and wise indeed are they who see that the greatest dangers lie in the moments of least active occupation. The laborer is harmless during his working hours. But once released what does he do? The student fits into the world's great system during the discharge of his vocation duties. But when left to his own resources, the very freedom establishes the possibility of his becoming a dangerous member of society. The engineer works conscientiously during his shift. But is he able to deal sanely with the thousand relationships which his mechanical knowledge cannot touch? It is no idle question to ask by what right we equip a student with facilities for becoming an expert in chemistry and leave untouched those relationships which have nothing to do with chemistry but everything to do with his destiny. It is true that education is not the only influence which helps to prepare students for life; there are other agencies at work which are formulative not only of character but of intellectual power as well. But they all have, must have, a common end and it would be impossible to separate them as independent factors. Meanwhile it must be true that, as he is wisest who determines most clearly his relationships, so that system of education is most complete and adequate which classifies to the student the greatest number of life's relationships.

Human thought demands system. That which is isolated we do not understand. Only those things which are related to each other have a meaning to us. And that is only another way of saying that things which are related to each other must find their ultimate unity in system. The insane man has separate states of consciousness which cannot be coördinated; hence insanity deals with individualities. The sane man dates and locates his experiences; and only for this reason does life have continuity and possibilities of growth. It must be clear, then, that the most important study in any college curriculum is precisely that which will formulate in his mind this power to grasp and group the facts of life into a system. That study



is philosophy. When we set the idea of philosophy over against the realism of our generation the former suffers by the comparison. Its speculation, its generalities, its inquiry into things beyond and outside of the concrete world of daily experience lend an unreality to it which makes it a *persona non grata* among the factors of practical life. Men condemn it as a dream, theoretical, irrelevant to their ends and aims, and prefer the firmer structures where real men and women toil to the flimsy castles of imagination. But their rejection of philosophy is no arraignment of its actual presence and power in human life, and the bluntest business man is dominated by its principles whether he will or not, for philosophy is merely an attempt to systematize our notions of the universe, and in striving to adapt more and more fully his business to the needs of the community where he operates he is laboring under the influence of the same great law that guides all action. To the school boy arithmetic is a series of isolated facts; the manifold permutations and combinations of numbers are like traps set for his intellectual downfall; he passes to algebra where the abstractions are still more vague; he finds in geometry only elusive figures and barren reasoning which merge him only further into a world of unreality. But the college student gathers all these individual facts into mathematics, and finds a rational pleasure in the vision of these correlations which reach to the very limit of space. The school boy studies physics, confronted by a most intimidating array of laws, formulæ and applications which perplex his idea of knowledge and seem an effectual bar to further mental progress. But the college student synthesizes all these phenomena of nature and discovers them to be a harmonious organism whose very essence is law and order. The school boy essays languages; one by one the slippery facts evade his unsteady grasp; words, phrases, clauses lie before him so unrelated that often tears blur the few clear glimpses of meaning which reward his honest search. But the college student correlates. Back of all these strangely different languages lies one mind. As he translates he realizes that the heart of humanity throbs



the same in all ages. Love, pride and ambition have swayed men since the beginning, and all these languages are but concrete forms in which the great human race voices and perpetuates itself in self-expression. But if the student correlates the facts within any one branch into a unity the branches themselves need a larger and final correlation. Have chemistry and biology, and literature and language a common bond? Only philosophy can answer; for only in philosophy can these great departments be gathered together. No other study is all-inclusive. It is here that science, religion, literature, life itself find a coherent and logical unity; it is here that the student's mind is cast in the mould which comprehends the universe as a whole. And he realizes for the first time the significance of Kant's definition of an organism that "It is a whole each part of which is at the same time the means and end of all the others." If philosophy bestows such a power, is it definitely related to practical life? Is the safer citizen he who studies important issues comprehensively, viewing the end from the beginning, or he who lacking the power of correlation, forms judgment from a few facts which may have impressed him more deeply than others?

The college idea rests on morality. The view is held that students attain their best growth in the enjoyment of undisturbed moral liberty. It is even averred that the college has nothing to do with the ethical side of a student's development. Such views are as illogical as they are perilous. From its first moment of conscious life the child is surrounded with the most careful moral influences; in its period of adolescence the moral guard is doubled, for both home and church are enlisted to protect the growing personality from processes of vitiation; all through their years of maturity and actual service men and women feel the need of moral support, and as life deepens they cling more closely—often desperately—to the bulwarks that shield them from sin and evil-doing. Why then should we assume that during the four years of college young men need no direct moral influence and gain their best ends when left to their own ethical devices? The assumption is



absurd. Does it mean nothing that scores of parents are asking earnestly whether it is safe to send their sons to college? Most serious indeed is the apprehension entertained by thoughtful men and women that our institutions of learning may lead their sons to moral ruin. The theoretical principle of evil in college communities takes less hold on the public mind. But when a once pure-minded boy leaves college debauched by sin, scarred by the evidences of his dissipation; when the son of practical parents returns with a diploma, to be sure, but stultified by fopperies of dress, manner and habit, flippant in his attitude toward coming life—and that in lieu of the power of manhood which his training ought to have given him, which, too, his parents had a right to expect—when results like this accrue from a college course, the very conditions stand out as an indictment against the institution which gave them being, and no words of defence can annihilate the fact that they are real.

All conduct is moral. No act can be divorced from consequences because each act involves reaction. And, too, no act can be performed without an engendered attitude, wherein precisely lies the ethical character of the act. Every moment of student activity is attended by moral issues and to give him over to the free exercises of his will is to abandon him, in a moment of critical experience, to choices and consequences which he is often too immature properly to face.

The conditions regnant in a college community are different from those of the larger world. In the latter, relationships are strangely fused and the web of social fabric so intricately woven that often clear moral vision seems impossible and pure judgments are rare. Men from their earliest years are largely creatures of environment. Born amid surroundings in which morality (and often immorality) is already systematized they breathe the atmosphere of what lies about them; they see, hear, imitate, absorb; they do not condemn the wrong, having become accustomed to it; they adopt the standard of their fellow-men because of the universality of its practice. Experience teaches them what they may or may not do with im-



punity; hence their morality is *a posteriori*, an average of what other men do, gathered after the deed is done, and utilitarian in the extreme.

Not so the college community. Here life is simpler and less complex. Relationships are fewer and less interwoven, hence more easily controlled. The attitude of the student to the college, to his teachers, to his fellows is less capable of moral misunderstanding; the temptations peculiar to self-interest are more scarce; the appeal to right living is infinitely stronger. He is enlightened by the great examples of history where men rise and fall in ratio to their ethics; he is reinforced by the influence of strong men who teach him and the noble characters who uphold the *rationale* of every college community. His original purpose is to seek power through knowledge; the necessity of making money is less keen—at least to such an extent that the growing moral sense is not strained by constant appeals to selfish interest. He thus possesses the supreme advantage of living four years outside of the larger world, of studying its phases without personal contact, of building up his morality before he enters the arena of actual service. In that sense the college man's ethics is *a priori*, formed from an environment morally clearer than the world's, chosen from a vantage ground which clarifies the vision and plants a strong hope in the breast beyond the power of after years to choke.

The admonitive power of such influences cannot be overestimated. It is true that the privilege of moral choice lies ultimately with the individual. But the moral influence of every college ought to be strong indeed, in order that the student may be stimulated and enabled to make the wisest possible choice. Since when must we apologize for guarding jealously the lives of our young men and pressing on them the necessity of cultivating purity and integrity? In this connection the personal example of the faculty is of vital import. Compulsory attendance at chapel would mean vastly more to the student if all members of the faculty were also required



to come. Their presence would go far toward impressing on the student body the significance of such occasions. Professors may not be obliged to teach morality, but they ought to *live* it and the character of each of them stands in direct relation to the ideals which the student forms for life. The latter finds many problems of vital moment pressing upon him for solution. Indifference or neglect on his part will not solve them. He must pass on them. And just here lies the incalculable value of a moral environment which is active rather than passive. These issues must be brought home to him; he must see them as they are. If he practises them he ought to endorse them; if he condemns them they must be avoided. He has the right to choose either side of an issue, but he must be urged to make the conscious choice. And once in possession of a rational decision he will go forth into the world a clear thinker and a conscientious actor.

The college idea gives point of view. Why do men seek the mountains during the summer? Why do they return with ruddy cheeks, rejuvenated, with that increment of health and vigor which carries them through the hardships of the ensuing winter? Has the mountain something which the valleys do not yield? There is no more inspiring moment in life than when one occupies some vantage ground which overlooks the world, far enough removed to escape its hum and whirl, yet near enough to see, and seeing to observe. He who climbs a mountain labors up its acclivity without a view, but when he is once above, the mountain no longer conceals but reveals. Our colleges must stand for more than the routine of recitation work. The conditions which contribute to the making of manhood and character reach far below the mechanical processes by which each day's schedule is carried out. If education is measured by the amount of actual knowledge which the student carries from his courses the system would be a failure and the college diploma a misrepresentation. The completion of certain courses and the accumulation of a definite number of credits may suffice to determine a student's official standing on



the books of the college, but they do not insure him the possession of that development which alone makes for power. And many who in the glamour of commencement week believe themselves to be truly educated will awaken one day in the larger world only to find themselves still crude and unprepared for the life that throbs in such tremendous pulsations around them. Is it then accidental that most colleges are set on hills? One cannot possibly overestimate the value of four years spent on life's summits while the drama of the real world is enacted below and around. To be thus a passive spectator, to observe and reflect, to study and appropriate—are privileges peculiar to the lofty view point and are fundamental to the idea of an adequate education.

The graduate speaks of college as the best part of his life; the poet sings of "The golden haze of college days," and memory weaves a veritable halo around the beloved alma mater. The larger world can nowhere duplicate the exact conditions which surround a young man during his college course. There men serve others; in college themselves. There they aim at deeds; in college at ideas. The former imposes compulsory labor, the latter voluntary service. The bond of college life unites hundreds of young men without the vestige of a pledge or even a voluntary act. The class-relationship joins only closer those who labor side by side; and the fraternity offers a cozy fireside for congenial spirits. The buildings themselves make a strong appeal to the sympathy and sentiment of the student; the trees bear faithful witness of hundreds whose feet have trod the campus in former days, and over all hangs that real, tangible presence of college spirit in which professor, student, buildings, nay even the humblest janitor, partake, merge their identity and form an organism which loyal hearts idealize into a veritable shrine. If, then, the student surveys life from the college hill and through the atmosphere which can be found alone on such lofty ground, he brings to his career and service a point of view which qualifies him to lead his fellow-men.



The college idea brings a vision. The world has little patience with a dreamer, but that is largely because it does not understand the nature of a dream. Are not buildings, plants, in fact whole cities first conceived in the minds of men who have faith in the future, then sketched in the plans of an architect and finally reared in concrete form? It was the vision which foreran the creation, but the world sees only the creation. Men who deal with things in the larger world believe that education involves no more than the acquisition of facts and therefore ask: "Why study Latin? Few can read it; most men forget it and its facts have no relation to practical life." We answer: "It gives a vision, no more, no less. But in the length and breadth of that vision lies much of life." They who expect students to issue from our colleges equipped with the greatest possible number of facts will invariably be disappointed, and they who limit education to the mere issues of practical living have no right to discuss the educational problem at all. Education does not deal with mere living or with so-called practical living. That is accomplished by myriads of men who have never entered a high school, much less a college or university. We readily grant that men can pass from the cradle to the grave without an education and find a definite place in the world's work. But they cannot live deeply. Education deals with the extensive and intensive phases of life; enriches the mind not with facts but with the relationship of facts. He who considers how little learning he can acquire to meet the necessities of his career wastes that little when it becomes his, for it is not worth the getting. How can he who has never had a vision determine the value of what other men see? What worth can his ideas have when he declares himself on matters which lie so wholly outside his own experience? The educational vision is of the past and future. Art and sculpture, æsthetic form and literature, the antique, the classical, the oriental, the mediæval, the sources of culture and the splendid achievements of history—all these are life as it was, and the student thrilled by this vision of



the past frames from it his vision of the future. There are infinite possibilities in its height and depth and breadth because it contains the inspiration of infinite labor. Such men do not dream; they see. And they offer willingly, eagerly their utmost devotion to the vision. Hence their view is large, their judgment ample, their effort wise because they are guided by the unerring clearness of a broad and lofty vision. By such men the world's work is being done to-day.

The college idea brings enthusiasm. It is true that the world possesses deep sentiments. Love has always been the master passion of the heart, and patriotism has kindled many a life to deeds of unexampled valor. Time was when masses of people were swept into great movements by an *esprit du corps* which one does not encounter in these days when individuals view issues in a colder because more selfish light. The splendid achievement of Peter the Hermit and the equally splendid response of the mediæval heart to the magic of his exhortation must thrill every heart that throbs even intermittently with the blood of romantic zeal. But in our age men are arrayed against each other and the game of life is rather to check others than to lead them into kindred enterprises. Enthusiasm in the larger world is therefore somewhat disorganized, or at least a more personal matter. The struggle for existence is less romantic than it ought to be. Men work because their labor stands between them and starvation. The tense-drawn face, the dogged faithfulness, the armed neutrality and cheerless truce of modern social classes betray the presence of no friendly attitude within, while the few who succeed find fewer still to cheer them in their moment of success. One of the greatest needs of our day is goodwill among the classes of society and an enthusiasm which makes for the success of the individual without embittering his fellow-men. Nowhere is such enthusiasm being generated save in our colleges. The athletic conditions and policies of American institutions have been discussed, criticized, condemned and defended too often and too keenly to warrant at this point



a reference to their merits or demerits. The mass of students is reached athletically by prescribed gymnastic work. The varsity teams are accessible only to the few whose abilities entitle them to represent their alma mater in intercollegiate contests. The charge that they offer to the students at large only meager opportunities for athletic development is true. It is also true that the students who play on varsity teams do so at a personal sacrifice of time and labor, often in jeopardy of their scholastic standing, with glory as their chief reward. But it is equally true that all students participate in these great athletic events in a manner which helps them more than if they actually played. When five hundred, or a thousand, or two thousand young men are centered heart, soul and body on the success of their team, giving expression to their loyalty in concerted cheers and pulsing songs that echo and re-echo over the field of action, it is a psychological moment when every nerve fiber thrills with equal impulse; when every vocal chord vibrates in kindred harmony; where every individual difference is buried; where widely differentiated lives have a common thought and end. The impress of such a moment is indelible; the effect of such enthusiasm ineradicable. The student life is stirred to its lowest depths and the optimistic impulse engendered thus will vibrate as long and as often as great causes enlist human effort. This is the lasting benefit of college athletics, a benefit which reaches every student's heart and is in itself sufficient to justify the *raison d'être* of college sport. The world cannot furnish a similar spectacle; the world does not even understand its expression on the athletic field. But students who have been thus thrilled, when they take their place beside companions in the world's work will labor with the old enthusiasm and win with the old success, while their neighbor falters and complains because he cannot share an optimism which was never kindled in his earlier life and which in his more meager judgment life's station does not demand or warrant.

The college idea involves culture. Probably no word is so



variously used and understood as culture. It stands for almost every phase of cultivation ranging from capricious fads to the deepest appreciation of the soul. Most normally it expresses a fondness for high things and a resultant refinement of the general personality. Thus culture is by no means the sole prerogative of the rich or highly educated classes. And if it is not widely diffused the reason does not lie in its incapability to be democratic, but rather because the public mind—high, low, rich and poor alike—is dull to grasp its worth and recognize it as a vital factor in social as well as economic growth. These are days of social reform, but there would be less need of reform if proper forces were at work moulding American character. The American mind is complacently self-centered, not keen to the abuses of good taste and form. Consequently more or less coarseness has crept into our public life and is reflected in the daily practice. These exhibitions of unrefinement we may not endorse, but they lie about us and their presence is a sufficient condemnation of our *laissez faire* methods. Just here lies the transcendent danger of so much that inheres in American life. Its subtlety blinds us to its peril. Men will not believe that certain tendencies are dangerous, because they are only tendencies and have not as yet led to positive disaster. They read day after day what ought never to have been printed; they see constantly in picture and cartoon exaggerations that could never be legitimate objects of artistic treatment; they hear what with all justice to its simplicity of harmony can never elevate. It is argued, to be sure, that they read and see and hear indifferently, with a momentary glance, to pass the time, as an offset to the strenuous demand of the daily task, and the idea of danger is scouted. Gradually, however, the public sense of refinement is blunted and men come to accept unconsciously what they would not consciously endorse. Moreover, these same tendencies lie close to growing children, whose ideals are greatly affected by their daily environment. Our country is inundated by a flow of so-called popular music, written by men whose



claim to recognition is completely nullified by the sort of trash they compose, written to words so absolutely void of poetic worth that they would be ridiculous if their influence were not so pernicious, adorned with a title page whose lack of art can be explained only on the ground that the whole idea was conceived and executed with the sole motive of making money by "making a hit." Hundreds of thousands of copies reach our homes, their melodies are re-echoed on the streets, are heard at popular concerts. And when their baneful influence is hinted at, such misgivings are met with the assertion that people listen only superficially. No truer indictment of the whole matter could be made than this assertion. People do listen superficially; they delight in a catchy air—until another more catchy supersedes it, which in turn is spurned for newer attractions. Meanwhile they lose the faculty of permanent preference and—what is far more serious—the power to appreciate good music. Its deeper import, stricter form, more insistent appeal to an intellectual and emotional responsiveness, its more complicated melody, are no match for the easier, subtler charm of the popular style, and youthful hearts throb in unison with a rhythm that slowly dulls their inner musical sense and finally legalizes a canon of taste which is a perpetual shame to those who love the æsthetic reputation of their land.

We suffer as a nation from a lack of atmosphere. We have artists but little art; we have sculptors but little sculpture; we have musicians but little music. In literature, men write dramas, but there is no dramatic technique; novels appear in abundance but they are not classified into schools of thought nor do they follow certain lines of development. Our dramas contain the problems of politics, sociology, sex, love and psychology, but they are not sociological as such, because their forms and ideas are fused together arbitrarily and without system. Our novels deal with most varying phases of human feeling and action; yet they have no conscious historical continuity with preceding novels either in technique or content. They are seldom written to exemplify an idea or a definite



system of thought; their authors aim mostly at literary fame or financial profit. Behind our books and dramas there should be an atmosphere of literature; under our music productions should lie the substratum of musical beauty; back of our painting and sculpture should stand the ideal of art. And pervading all these manifestations must be a general atmosphere out of which they will emanate not as individuals isolated and unrelated but kindred in nature and purpose because born of the same substance.

Shall we then not continue to hear the drone of popular music? Yes. Will the ignoble exhibition of profaned art disappear from periodical literature? No. But the solution of the problem contained in our discussion will be found in the deepening, broadening and heightening of American culture. Such a transformation will never be wrought by societies formed for the dissemination of culture or the annihilation of bad taste. This is preëminently the age of organization and society is already overorganized. The pulpit and press are doing little to develop culture. Our magazines print what people want to read and their idea of literary availability is largely what will increase the sale of their periodicals. The renaissance must come with the college man. Everything that the college idea stands for will enable him to deal effectively with the problem of social culture. His trained power, his touch with the past, his vision of truth, his quickened moral sense, his swift perception of social movements—these are new and potent forces which he brings as his contribution to life's service, and society cannot be insensible to these healthful influences. In journalism his ideals will make for purer reading and better literary expression; in public life he will maintain insistence on clean methods and honest conduct; in social intercourse his love of lofty things will draw men from what is gross and unrefined. And thus will be hastened the dawn of a day when the varying phases of life shall have a common background, pervaded by a general atmosphere in which we shall inhale the breath of a true refinement and realize the possibilities of a practical culture.



The college idea ought to bring an awakening. Hundreds of students are going in and out before us every year untouched by the influences which the college represents. They pass out into life, and often through the entire length of their career in a state where apparently only the lower functions of being are brought into play. But it is not such men who do the world's work. The feeble vision, the numb sense, the sluggish will, the dim perception may suffice to minister to the immediate daily needs, but these unawakened men are as isolated from social growth as if they had never seen a human face. There comes to most men, however, a psychological moment when the inner soul and the outer environment must be adjusted. All the power of the one is pitted for the moment against that of the other. If the relationship is readily determined peace ensues and a harmonious operation. If not, the crisis is fraught with the most tragic possibilities. In this struggle the individual merges from the darkness of innocence into the light of virtue. He looks into his own soul; sees its depth, longings, ideals. It is a solemn moment and no one can stand thus face to face with the unbarred reality of his own personality without a feeling of awe and reverence for the causes which gave it original being. Some suffer a cataclysm of brain or heart. Doubt rends them asunder; misfortune crushes them almost beyond the ability to rise again; or love flames in the heart with absorbing passion and consuming power; in any case the crisis comes and with it the agony, the testing. The awakened soul alone has power. It is the butterfly we value, not the chrysalis. And in education no less than in the storm and stress of life it is the awakening that marks the birth of power. A student may pass his examinations or prescribed courses of study, and to be sure with distinction; his natural ability may lead him to astonishing mental achievements; but he may graduate helpless before the issues of the larger life. The acquisition of facts derived from courses of study can no longer be regarded as the chief benefit of college training. If it were, the meager accumulation made by most



students would be a standing satire on education as a means of mental development. It is not the function of education to amass knowledge, nor is it fair to impose on the memory the impossible task of bearing all the facts which come within the range of human consciousness. The student needs the capacity to understand the relationship of facts. But this capacity comes only through regeneration. There is such a thing as not knowing one's self. A man can live a stranger to his own soul. But he cannot possess power. There is almost a mystery about the phenomenon of self-discovery. It takes place in the quiet hour within the shadow of the college, when reflection invites self-examination and self-examination reveals the soul within. It is the meeting of the heart and brain; the union of the inner and the outer life; the discovery of personality, its needs and its longings; the revelation of a world which though separated from the world of things is after all the same world, only in its higher manifestation, its rarified stratum, its purer, better part. It is, then, the awakening of this self as related to the external world which constitutes the essence of education. In after life men are awakened mostly through pain, or struggle, or loss. But infinitely fortunate is the student on whom the college idea operates forcibly enough to reveal the vast dignity and transcendent power of his own personality. For ninety-nine students who merely complete their courses a college would be fortunate to produce one thus awakened and quickened, for the ninety-nine can only reproduce what they have learned, but the one will do a giant's work.

The college ought to be the cradle of greatness. The human mind has lost nothing of its power. The race has not deteriorated, and ambition now as of old spurs most men on to action. But the motives which prompt it at present are different and its force is spent along different lines. The ancient world conquerors longed for military dominion; those of modern times strive for political and financial supremacy. There is too little greatness in American life outside of financial achievements. The latter are wrought with a stupendousness the



world has never witnessed, and as a result the commercial idea lends hue to almost every American ideal. But civilization is not preserved and developed by money alone and it is indeed one of the greatest necessities of our generation to realize that many of the prime factors of progress have no financial value at all. Art, music, literature lack the power of self-perpetuation. They do not exist apart from those who produce them and they rise no higher than the level of those who gave them being. Colossal buildings and costly temples which house these precious legacies are no guarantee that art and music will live. Money cannot purchase the immortality of a single beautiful ideal. Art is life, and when life runs low art languishes. Our supreme national need is great men, great because they create, great because they have a vision, great because they are filled with a lofty purpose to crystallize their ideal in verse, in stone or oil. Greatness is creation. To do what other men have done is imitation, not greatness. Whence then shall come the inspiration to be great? We look in vain for it in the world at large. There the spirit is selfish. Men take rather than give, whereas greatness gives rather than seeks. It is not merely an effort of the will. It springs from congenial soil, from sympathetic environment, from kindred conditions, from responsive chords. There must be an atmosphere which stimulates the creative impulse; a substratum which supports its fabric; a *milieu* which favors its exercise. And with it all, the strong call to achievement from the awakened heart, the thrill of genius, the titanic force, the struggle with life's problems, out of which grow peace and genial productiveness. If, then, the spirit of the times does not foster greatness it must spring from the college environment. The universities of Europe have been the cradle of liberty, often amid most intolerant conditions. Why should we not expect our institutions to foster the growth of literary greatness and to produce types of men who can perpetuate the glories of the past in an equally glorious future? Our great literary authors are passing; with them passes also their art. The liter-



ary standard of our present writing is relatively low, because emphasis is laid on content rather than on form. The reading public seeks ideas and concerns itself less with the medium through which they are expressed. Since therefore general conditions do not encourage or stimulate high achievements in art and literature the springs of creativeness run slow. This languor must be quickened and the individual awakened to a new zeal. Literary development must keep pace with commercial expansion, and the college man, whose environment is a constant inspiration and appeal to deeds of creativeness, is preëminently fit to carry on the work which great men have laid down, and his pen will write the literary message of the future.

The college idea develops the spirit of reverence. The undergraduate pledges unwavering troth to the college of his choice; no alumnus ever gave or suffered insult to the colors he once wore. Proud of his alma mater, jealous of her name, zealous for her fame, he cherishes her memory with a reverence the larger world does not feel. Each hall, tower and building, the campus with its bending trees, are imaged in his heart. And as the alma mater song rises proudly on the air he stands with uncovered head until the last echoes have died away. Is this homage offered to the unknown god? Such reverence is the crying need of American civilization. When men cast away tradition and relegated its treasures to the obsolete the iconoclasm was sweeping in the extreme. Religious beliefs, political practices, educational ideals long cherished were condemned as fetish. The canons of a thousand years were burned at the stake. And now after the smoke has cleared away we are discovering that these iconoclasts have very little to put in the place of the time-honored system and that there has ensued a vital loss of reverence in the hearts of men and women which bodes small good for the future. And too, the phenomenal growth of wealth has brought with it increase of good living and enjoyment of social comforts. Our youth, reared in an atmosphere of freedom and ease, develops



an aversion to discipline and a lack of that earnestness which comes with endurance and more frugal habits. There is nothing more flippant than the spectacle of young people, who looking with contempt on a past of which they themselves are vastly unworthy, seek to move and act within the privileges of their newborn ideas with an ignorance and pseudo-gravity that would be amusing if they were not an ominous sign of the times. Ridicule is confessedly cheap—and worthless. But its relations when they have become habitual can prove a formidable menace to progress. Irreverence is the vice of our younger generation. Disrespect of parents, impatience toward old age, decadent inclination in matters of moral import, overweening vanity—and these in youthful characters that are uncultured and imperious! Our youth of to-day stand as no great monument to the forces that moulded them. And wide indeed are the consequences of this disrespect. The treasures of art and literature are lightly esteemed because their compelling worth finds no response of reverence in the individual heart. Great ideas and institutions are invested with a sacredness which no one can deny with impunity. They overawe and command. The safety of state and the fate of society hang on the esteem which they are able to win from the popular heart. When we desecrate the altars of the past; when we cease to revere the ideals which our forefathers loved; when we lose power to value that which life holds of highness and nobility, then we are exposing ourselves to dangers which neither armies, nor governments nor coercion can avert, for the process of decay is internal, and general social disintegration is only a matter of time. It must be clear, then, that the spirit of reverence which the college man brings with him into the larger world must be of incalculable value in preserving social conditions which shall be hopeful and helpful in the maintenance of our national prosperity.

Education, then, deals with mental power; develops it through an awakening; unifies it through philosophy; clarifies it by a vision of truth; fortifies it by morality and the living



appeal of life's highest good. Thus equipped the college man goes into the world a cultivated personality. We have used the terms philosophy, morality, vision, point of view, atmosphere, enthusiasm, greatness, culture, awakening. It will be objected that they are only general qualities of personality, whereas education aims at specific training; that they are therefore not legitimate objects of educational discussion. If, then, objectors will maintain, training for specific ends constitutes an education, it can be acquired without considering these cultural "luxuries" which adorn, to be sure, even if they are not indispensable. And if knowledge be the end of learning, as others assert, it is obviously a loss of time to busy ourselves with anything but its acquisition. But these are precisely the hypotheses which we deny. If specific training be the end in view then education reaches only a small part of a man's career and gives him no power, no equipment, no preparation for the larger part of life which he as a member of society must live during the intervals between his vocational duties. A man is safest when he is busy; is most dangerous during the freedom of his avocation hours. If, therefore, education has nothing to do with the conduct and control of this avocational freedom, then our institutions of learning do not deserve to exist, for they neglect the most vital part of the human problem and abandon their trained graduates to a helpless attitude before life's realities which may easily prove their undoing. And if knowledge be the test of the educational idea, then education is a failure. On the basis of knowledge how many students deserve a diploma? If a student's amount of information were determined in relation to what he ought to know, how many could graduate? And yet hundreds do graduate every year. But even if a student did acquire sufficient knowledge to entitle him to a diploma, what good would the mass of facts do him or any one else? Is he to hold these facts so that others may come to take or borrow them? But that is the function of the library. Is he to pass them on to his neighbor? But our books and journals are performing that service. No, no. The function of education is to teach



life, life in its widest range, life in its deepest meaning. If men are to live properly, we must teach them how. If they are to think earnestly we must awaken them to deep realizations of truth; if they are to deal comprehensively with life's problems they must have a unity of consciousness which will grasp details and view them as parts of a system. If they are to represent us creditably on public occasions they must possess sufficient culture to make them capable of polished self-expression. If art and literature are to be perpetuated they must be understood and fostered by those whose reverence enables them to feel their ennobling value. The rich man can purchase paintings and statuary. But no money can buy art. It does not exist save in the ideals of those whose awakened souls behold the vision. And if we are to have honest men with honest methods and honest results they must enter the struggle strong in the conviction that national purity depends upon personal purity and that the nation's honor sits on the brow of the individual citizen. A college president recently brought home to the trustees the necessity of broadening their institution. If by broadening he meant a larger array of facts for the students to learn his recommendation was worthless. We are teaching already more facts than our students can or will learn. We do not need breadth of that sort. We must teach our students the meaning of facts, to correlate them, to interpret them, to determine their relationships and then apply the results of these discoveries to the relationships of the daily life. Men need the power to live, not merely the ability to do one thing well. The ignorant man deals with isolated facts and must necessarily always be learning the same things in the same way. To him repetition means progress. The wise man generalizes on the facts of experience, learns their laws and acquires power. Breadth, then, must be in no case an increase in the number of studies without an accompanying depth of comprehension. It is intensive, not extensive. The springs of power lie far deeper than most men suppose.

And just here lies the fallacy of the practical man's view.



He wants efficient employees but he does not understand how such employees are made efficient. He mislocates the sources of power because he has not known how power is generated. He persists in believing that ability comes from repetition and thus relegates development to the level of habit. He insists that he who performs a task a thousand times thereby acquires power, ignorant that power is begotten by devotion to ideals. The secret of real power lies beyond his comprehension.

The strength of the college lies in the relation of the college idea to the student idea. One must dominate the other. At present the former is weaker than the latter. Students come to college, most of them willing to learn, but their natural inclination is towards pleasure and recreation. Athletics, society, music, reading, and often debauchery are the modes in which the student idea expresses itself. The recitation, lecture, laboratory, and examination are the modes in which the college idea expresses itself. The student enters college primarily to get an education and will follow the one or the other of these ideas. Every institution to-day comprises three classes of men—a few who seek and work earnestly, many who have no definite attitude, and some who do not intend to work at all. The first class is a delight; the third class ought to be ejected; the second class can be reached and redeemed. Why are they not reached? Because the student idea is stronger than the college idea. College life includes work and pleasure. Must one of these be gained at the cost of the other? By no means. The student's problem is neither how to work nor how to play but how to do both. And wise indeed is he who determines for his own life the proper relation of work and recreation.

But the appeal of the college idea is too weak. It is a common saying that "If a man can once enter college he can go through and graduate." And it is undeniably true that many receive diplomas who are utterly unworthy of them. Furthermore, students neglect their work, seek pleasure, determine arbitrarily the conduct of their college career. But the greater



fault lies with the institution which domiciles them. The college idea can express itself in two ways. It cannot force men to study but it can drop them if they refuse to study. And such a course is often salutary for those who remain. But that is not educating. Is it better to drop a student for being purposeless and indolent, or to awaken in him a spirit of manhood and industry? The manifestation of the college idea as a coercive force will never accomplish the ends of education, because the application of such force cannot touch or reach the real issue. Young men are naturally active and must keep themselves occupied. If the college program is formal and uninteresting, they will honestly turn to the more congenial forms of recreation and enjoyment. It is the college which should dominate these forms also. It should furnish music as a means of enjoyment and culture; it should teach students how to use and value a library; it should make them readers and intelligent critics of their own literature; it should provide social entertainments where the student would acquire a general *savoir faire* by contact with cultured men and women; it should teach students to control themselves by employing a system of self-government where they would learn the responsibilities of executive service. The faculty should be men of strong character, who not merely are able to teach their courses, but represent in their personality a magnetic type of culture and perfected manhood. The eminent professor bending under the burden of degrees and titles is not necessarily a man of power. Our institutions lose hold on the respect and confidence of students by appointing too many young men whose Ph.D. is supposed to be a guarantee that they possess the latest methods and results of scholarship, whereas their weaker appeal to the esteem of undergraduates neutralizes the influence of their teaching. Our students cannot take the initiative in matters of education. Nor ought they. We have had instances where young men have risen in rebellion against obsolete and ineffective methods; many earnest students are at present condemning their colleges for precisely the same inadequacy. But such incidents are abnormal. Where could



one find a more pathetic or humiliating arraignment of our educational system? Especially when such dissatisfaction exists also among thoughtful alumni! And where there are weaknesses in the standard and practice of educational ideas, it is unfortunately the student who is the loser; it is his future which suffers, his power which remains undeveloped.

The right to express an opinion is characteristically American. We believe in free discussion and open criticism. Some of the changes which have taken place in our educational system are due to the pressure of public opinion, others to the requirements of new conditions. But the educational idea ought to dominate, not follow, public opinion. When students, parents, newspapers, the general public, and educators pass judgment on the question of the proper sphere and conduct of college work, the judgment of educators ceases to be authoritative. There is entirely too much meddling on the part of persons who are honest in their convictions but too ignorant of the situation to contribute anything but confusion to the desired solution. If education conforms to an ideal who is to proclaim that ideal? When a young man is to be educated who can better determine the scope and content of that education, the college or the young man's friends and relatives?

The college idea must be more assertive, more positive. Commercialism has gone to the fore and dominates American life to-day not because it is better than the college idea, but more active, more powerful, guided by a surer hand. A college president in a recent address indirectly admitted that he was not sure where the educational emphasis ought to be laid, and after stating two extremes of view placed it somewhere between them. Over against such vacillations of opinion set the clear utterances, the positive practices, the real achievements of commercial men and it will not be difficult to see why the latter control while the former lack force and influence.

The college idea has its own inherent ideals, strength and message; with them it must dominate the public mind, as it must also dominate the student's college course. His study,



his ambition, his social life, his whole career are impressionable to proper influences and he will give himself over without resistance to the administration of stronger minds if they can guide his college destinies more wisely and more agreeably than he himself. The college needs fellowship, the contact of heart with heart, the sharing of a common life, the social equality of student and professor. When our young men realize that their teachers are human and have a sincere interest in their welfare; when the teachers by their presence and attitude encourage and enjoy events which are deservedly dear to the student heart, then a serious obstacle to the development of educational power will have been removed; and in mutual confidence, mutual sympathy, and mutual esteem, the stronger, deeper, more cultured mind will lead, unconsciously but no less surely, the younger, plastic, receptive mind. And amid such congeniality of spirit the greatest possibilities of mental development can be realized.

We find, then, that the college idea ought to make a more definite and authoritative appeal to the public mind; that the function of education is to teach the student how to live in the fullest sense; that the knowledge gained in college courses is useless unless it is transformed into living power; that the student gains power not by the completion of prescribed courses, but through an awakening which shall reach the depths of his being; that this awakening shall be guided and unified by the systematizing influence of philosophy; that the college should offer him an environment in which the physical, intellectual, moral and social needs of his nature will find full exercise and satisfaction. We expect our students to enter college as boys but to emerge as men, and to work in the world with a zeal and power which shall stamp the college man as the best product of American civilization.

ORONO, ME.



## II.

### WHAT IS CHRISTIAN SALVATION?

CHARLES E. CREITZ.

I APPROACH my subject not as a theologian but as a pastor. One of the dangers of the scholar is that he becomes absorbed in thoughts and ideas, rather than in men; in words and formulas, rather than in things, in logic rather than in life, in a world of his own creation, rather than in the world which God made.

It is the preacher who deals at first hand with the great problems of theology, for he comes at grips with real life. He is in the midst of the arena. He stands where the battles of life are being fought. He is constantly placed where he must know how to bring the resources, not of theology, but of God, to the aid of the sinner struggling for deliverance, or perchance where he must first rouse the sinner to a sense of his need for deliverance. He is right down with the man in need of salvation. His world is a real world, and it is infinitely richer and vaster than the world of mere thoughts and ideas, and contact with it reveals much of the impotence and poverty of science and philosophy and theology.

I would not for a moment minimize the importance of the thought-world, or the power of ideas. But life comes before reflection on life; things before science; religion before theology; Christianity before doctrine. And these realities on which men exercise their thinking are fundamental and remain constant, while their theories and explanations of them are ever changing.

My desire, therefore, is not so much to present a theory of salvation as to make a simple statement of those elemental and unchangeable factors which enter into a true conception of



salvation, and which have always been present in the message of the Church from the beginning of time.

This declaration of purpose will at once eliminate from our discussion any exhaustive treatment of the many theories which have grown up in the course of the ages around the simple yet profound idea of salvation. I shall of course have to refer constantly to these theories and doctrines, but it will be only for the purpose of making the facts upon which they are based, stand forth in clearer relief.

The burden of the Gospel message in all ages has always been *salvation*, and the preacher's primary task has been to deliver that message and to make it effective in the lives of the people. The message in itself is simple enough—so simple, indeed, that a child can understand it. That fact should have saved the Church from building around it such a rampart of metaphysical, philosophical and theological masonry that even the wisest of men find great difficulty in getting at it.

It is unfortunate that the Church has never been able to agree on what are the really essential factors in salvation. There have always been those who say: "We are the Church and there is none other, and if you want to be saved you must come in with us." They say: "We believe in the Holy Trinity, or in the twofold nature of the person of Christ, or in apostolic succession, or in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, or in the inerrancy of the Bible, or in the regenerating grace of the sacraments, or in experiential conversion, or in foreordination, or in the eternal damnation of the lost, or in a substitutionary atonement, and unless you believe as we do, you are lost."

But behold a miracle! The impossible has actually happened. Men have gone straight ahead and been saved anyhow, in spite of denominational prohibition. The Quaker has been saved without the sacraments; the Unitarian without faith in the trinity and therefore in the Deity of Jesus Christ; the Methodist without apostolic succession and the laying on of hands; the Episcopalian without immersion; and Socrates and Abraham Lincoln, most people, I imagine would believe



were saved outside of the Church altogether, unless we hold the invisible Church in reserve for all those whom our common sense can not shut out entirely from the Kingdom of God, even though they had no connection whatsoever with the institution of the visible Church.

The history of redemption itself seems to be the best possible evidence that salvation is largely independent of theory or at least that the doctrines of the Church occupy only a subordinate place in this great fact.

What then is Christian salvation? The form of this question would seem to imply that there are different kinds of salvation—that there is a Christian salvation as distinguished from salvation that is not Christian. But this can be the case only, it seems to me, if we regard Christian salvation as salvation through the historic Christ, or salvation brought about by Christian agencies and instrumentalities.

I go on the assumption, however, that salvation in its essence is the same, no matter by what means it may be brought about, so that pre-Christian salvation or salvation among the heathen who have never heard of Christ is the same in nature and substance as the salvation which comes through more specifically Christian agencies.

What now are the essential elements in the fact of salvation? In the nature of the case these must be few and easily understood. They dare not create intellectual difficulties, so that only the learned can grasp them. They must also be things that are common to all Churches. On the face of it the things on which churches disagree can not be an indispensable part of the message of salvation. There must, therefore, be a certain irreducible minimum of fact which belongs to all churches, and which constitutes the heart of the message—indeed is the Christian message of salvation. There must be something that is common to all and that remains constant through all time and all changes, which has made possible what we see and know, viz.: the salvation of men under the most diverse and even contradictory dogmatic and credal teaching and belief.



I do not say that these differences are trivial or unimportant. But the message of salvation can not be in these differences but rather in that which is common to all. Paul and Augustine and Anselm and Luther and Zwingli and Calvin and Wesley and Edwards and Brooks did not preach the same theology, but each of them must have preached the essential Gospel, of which their converts are sufficient proof. The Baptist, the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian and the Methodist have different confessional standards and yet multitudes are being saved by each of these communions. What better proof than this that the things on which they differ are not an essential part of their message. There must be something which they all hold in common, which constitutes the real message which they severally proclaim.

To discover or rather to state this greatest common divisor, these essential elements, these fundamental facts which have constituted the message of salvation of the Church in all ages, and which must enter into any true conception of the fact of salvation itself—this is the task now before us.

I. The first of these factors is sin. Sin has created the problem of salvation. Without sin there would be no need of salvation, for whatever salvation may have come to mean on its positive side, it stands first for deliverance from the guilt and power of sin. Our whole doctrine of salvation presupposes a world of sin. This is one of the great realities about whose existence there is no dispute. The Heidelberg Catechism asks early: "How many things are necessary for thee to know that than . . . mayest live and die happily," and the answer is: "Three things," and the first of these is: "the greatness of my sin and misery." All systems of theology, all religions undertake to deal with this problem of sin, so that here we have one of the primal factors of the problem of salvation.

But as soon as we enter upon an explanation of this fact, as to its origin, its nature, its remedy, etc., we divide into different camps. How did sin come into the world? How is God related to the origin of sin? What is the origin of sin in ourselves? A correct answer to all these questions might be



very interesting, might indeed be helpful. But so far as we know Christ never even so much as touched on this problem. He accepted the fact of sin without any inquiry apparently into its ultimate cause. The great problem that confronted Him was how to rid the world of the sin which He found in it. He found every man a sinner. As to just how he became a sinner does not seem to concern him greatly, especially in so far as the cause of his sin might lie way back in the Garden of Eden. He knew that the remedy for sin must be applied in the sinner himself, and not in his ancestor. His grandfather might have sinned and brought misery and wretchedness on his descendant, but there is no opportunity now any more to change those consequences by applying the remedy to the grandfather. Salvation must be effected in his descendant.

It is true, of course, that many problems are helped in their solution by a knowledge of their cause or genesis, but so far as the problem of sin is concerned, Jesus seems to have made no attempt to trace it farther back in its origin than the sinner himself, and He never seemed to intimate that any one but the transgressor was responsible for his transgressions. This does not mean of course that the ultimate source of sin must lie in the individual sinner. It only means that it cannot be a matter of vital importance to salvation to possess a clear understanding of the origin of evil.

Then when we come to the nature and the ultimate effect or consequences of sin we are no more agreed than we are with reference to its origin. Is man totally depraved and if so what is total depravity? There are those who mean by it absolute moral and spiritual deadness, which is as incapable of voluntary action as a corpse. Others see in it only a sinful taint which has passed over the entire man, and leaves no part or faculty untouched or unvitiated.

And what is the penalty of sin? Is punishment everlasting? Is it vindictive or remedial? Is its purpose reformatory or penal? or is it perhaps the natural and inevitable consequence of broken law? Does it perhaps follow sinning as naturally



and inevitably as pain follows from placing the hand into the fire?

There is no uniformity of opinion or doctrine on the subject of sin, all of which goes to show that theories and explanations are not the essential things. As to the fact of sin all men are agreed, and every scheme of salvation deals with this problem. There never has been a message of salvation delivered anywhere by anyone that has not presupposed sin, so that our conclusion is that here we have one of those common elemental facts, which is present in every scheme and plan of salvation, and that the matter of prime importance is not so much whether we can make men *understand* the mystery of iniquity, as whether we can make them understand the iniquity of this mystery. The man who can do this has a power for good which is beyond all dispute and in the degree in which the preachers and teachers of the Church have been able to make men realize the iniquity of personal sin, have they made effective use of this first great and awful fact, which has been a factor in the message of salvation of the Church in all ages. Their explanations and theories have been subordinate. These may have differed with every division of the Church and in every succeeding age; but that has not mattered much. The thing of prime importance has been that men should be made to feel their sins in such a way that they would seek for deliverance.

II. The second factor in the problem of salvation is God, Who can save and is ever active in saving men from their sins. Without sin there would be no need of salvation; without God there could be no possibility of salvation, and this has been a part of the message of salvation in all ages. The whole of pre-Christian history reveals God active in the saving of his people. He comes into the ruined garden to save his sinning children. He comes in vision and in prophecy, in judgment and in mercy, in pain and in blessing that He may save His people. He pleads with them; He threatens them; He chastises them; but always apparently with the ultimate purpose of saving them.

But at once the question arises: How does God save? How



*can* He save? On what grounds can He forgive sin? How for instance did God save in pre-Christian ages, if He saved at all? How were Abraham and Moses and David saved? What is the relation of Christ to their salvation, if any? Could God forgive sin before Christ had in some way changed God's moral relation to the race? Could men be forgiven before the incarnation and the cross made the forgiveness of sin possible? As the beginnings of the race recede farther and farther into the past, it becomes increasingly difficult to believe that the salvation of men in the pre-Christian era was dependent on their faith in a Christ coming thousands of years later or in an event or a transaction at a vastly remote distance in the future. But this brings us at once face to face with the person and work of Jesus Christ. Who was He? Whence did He come? How is He related to God? What is the mystery of His person? What was His mission and how did He accomplish it? What is His relation to the salvation of men?

Here again we meet with a great variety of answers. The Church has never been agreed in its interpretation of either the person or the work of Christ. But surely our salvation can not wait until all these questions have been correctly answered. Indeed there seems little possibility that they will ever be answered in the same way. Therefore it must be self-evident that salvation does not depend on their absolutely correct answer. Men have been saved apparently under every variety of belief with reference to the person of Christ, or did salvation halt during the period of the great Christological controversies? Was there no saving going on until an orthodox christology had been wrought out by the Church? And what shall we say about the great variety of beliefs with reference to the person of Christ to-day? Shall we consign all the Unitarians to perdition? Shall we deny salvation to the new theologian and the higher critic, who may deviate in their opinions from the orthodox standards? Indeed the heretic of one age has sometimes become the orthodox of another, and for all that one can see, some heretics would seem to stand as good a chance of getting to heaven as some who are strictly orthodox.



Of course arrogancy and pride and self-conceit are as hateful to God in the one, as they are in the other.

The same thing is true of the death of Christ. What was *its* significance? In some way we believe that Christ's death is involved in the scheme of redemption; but no one seems to know just how. Many have thought that they knew, and have demonstrated to a conclusion the place of his death in the salvation of men. But the difficulty here lies in the fact that there have been numerous schemes of this kind wrought out to a finality, which yet differ widely from each other. Does it not depend very largely on a man's early training and on his mental constitution and habits as to whether he will adhere to one system rather than another. Of children born of Reformed parents and brought up in a Reformed environment, it may be predicted with perfect safety that the majority of them will in adult life adhere to the Reformed Church, and think the thoughts of the Reformed Church after it. The same thing is true of the Catholic or of any other branch of the Christian Church. There does not seem to me to be much comfort in this for those who are sure that they have the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Fortunately our doctrines cannot affect the solid facts of religion. The cross, for instance, is secure no matter what theories we may hold with reference to it. That which the cross symbolizes is one of the solid facts of experience. "Everyone who would attain to salvation must attain it by way of the cross. He must take up Christ's cross of sacrifice and make it his own. He must be crucified with Christ as Paul was. The death of Christ is the culmination of a career of suffering in self-giving; it is the symbol of the profoundest pity and yearning love for men and the utter self commitment to God. The man who will be saved must die a similar death. He must die to self that he may live unto God. He must in the realistic language of the Fourth Gospel eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ if he would have life."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, Stevens, p. 373.



The cross in this sense of course does not confine itself to the mere act of crucifixion. Dying may only be an incident in cross-bearing. Indeed dying may be the act which terminates cross-bearing, and may have no connection at all with the bearing of the cross. It is conceivable that a person might bear a heavy cross all his life long, and finally find sweet release through death. Would Christ not have born the cross if he had not died *on* the cross? Did He not say Himself "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me?" Would Christ not have given His life for the world if it had failed to culminate on Calvary? Was not His *life* rather than His death given as a ransom for many? If we must believe that his crucifixion was indispensable to salvation, we are driven to a dilemma from which no one has ever been able to extricate himself successfully. We must call a halt on the mind and say, "thus far but no farther." But the mind has its own laws and can not always be brought into abject submission to authority. It persists in asking, if the crucifixion was indispensable (I say indispensable, not inevitable); then the crucifiers were indispensable, for it is impossible to conceive of such a necessity executing itself, and even if that were possible it would lose all its significance. Neither is the modern mind satisfied to hide itself in the old refuge provided by the irreconcilability of God's foreknowledge and man's freedom. This is a real difficulty—divine omnipotence combined with omniscience on the one hand and human free will on the other, seem indeed to the human understanding to be incompatible ideas. Yet we are compelled to hold both. But the ethical consciousness of man refuses more and more to believe that such a crime as the crucifixion of Christ was indispensable to man's salvation.

But not only does man's moral nature rebel against it, but his reason and common sense also. Does not the whole public ministry of Jesus witness to the fact that He sought in every legitimate way to win the nation to Himself? Was He not making every possible effort to get them to accept Him as the Messiah? What if they had done so? Did He know that then



His mission would be a failure? Or was He only feigning? Were His efforts a sham?

It may be objected that such questions are idle and fruitless—that the Scriptures and the councils have decided them for all time. But may we not say here what Farrar said of Paul, who is largely responsible for the attitude of the historical creeds on the significance of Christ's death, though he himself had wrought out no complete doctrine of this great problem. "If Paul," he says, "again and again flings from him with a 'God forbid!' the conclusions of an apparently irresistible logic" may we not too refuse to follow when our conclusions both from Scripture and logic lead us in the direction of ethical stultification or moral suicide? And do we not have other facts from history to support us in this contention? Was not slavery at one time defended both from Scripture and reason, as a divinely sanctioned, if not, indeed, a divinely appointed institution. But neither Scriptures nor logic could again force that institution upon the conscience of the modern world. Every variety of cult and practice has had itself supported by the Scriptures, but in the end the general attitude of the Bible, its inner spirit and motive have always triumphed over proof-texts.

And so the modern mind somehow or other believes that it might have been possible for the Jews to have accepted Jesus as the Messiah, and the world *yet to have been saved*.

But let me repeat, this to my mind in no way removes the real cross out of its true place in the fact of salvation. Yea rather it enlarges the scope of its activity and significance. God has always been bearing the cross, that is, suffering and giving His life for the salvation of His people, and at last in the fulness of time He came in the completest revelation which He can make of Himself in the person of His son not simply to make an exhibition before the world of the greatness of His love, and the hatefulness and iniquity of sin, but in redeeming activity.

Herein lies the finality of the Christian religion. Jesus Christ we believe to be the final revelation of God, and also



the final and complete revelation of human possibilities. We cannot conceive of a God superior to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and it is equally impossible for man to conceive of a human being higher and more perfect than He. Jesus has realized the perfection of the life of sonship, which is true salvation.

Call Him therefore by what names you will; heap upon Him all the attributes and titles given Him by the Scriptures—they can not exhaust the meaning and significance of His Person. By every claim of character and achievement, He can be nothing less than Saviour and Lord. “The utmost and the last is in Him.” We need nothing more than the perfecting of His life in us, and humanity can never need another revelation to complete its destiny, for there can be no destiny beyond the completion and fulfilment of the gift of life in Jesus Christ.

This then is the second great factor in the problem of salvation—God who loves His people and is ever active for their salvation. The theories as to how He does this are numerous and often divergent or contradictory. But the fact remains unchanged and unchallenged that God can and does forgive sins, and this has been a part of every message of salvation from the beginning of time.

III. The third common factor in salvation is faith. This has always been so. Abraham believed God and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness. “Thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it. Thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken and a contrite heart.” Forgiveness cannot be purchased, neither can it be earned by service. Salvation is by faith. “By grace are ye saved through faith.” “The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.” “Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.”

But what is faith? As soon as we begin to define, we divide. Faith by itself looks simple enough, and does not seem to be very hard to understand, and yet through theological elaboration it has come about that a great many Christians even have



only a faint hope that their faith is unto salvation. Stripped of its theological verbiage, we know readily enough what faith is. Do we not say, "I have faith in that man, or I would trust anything to that man for I believe in him?" We need no elaborate explanation to make us understand what we mean by such a declaration. We simply express an attitude of trust and confidence toward another. It is not primarily an expression of opinion, but of a state, an attitude, a condition. That is faith in everyday life. By that faith we live daily. The state of confidence and trust in the general integrity of men, in the stability of character and honesty and social organization, lies at the basis of all civilized society.

Why should we make an entirely different word out of faith when it comes to religion? What else is it when applied to religion than such an attitude or state of confidence and trust in God as will lead to conduct naturally harmonious with and properly responsive to that trust.

But instead of this we have constructed an elaborate machinery, whereby alone faith can be created in the human heart, so that many timid souls are afraid that they may unwittingly have slipped a cog or so in the process of getting it, so that they cannot be sure that they have it at all.

And then in addition to this, faith has come to be generally regarded as a correct opinion about religious things, rather than such an attitude of trust and confidence in God, as will lead to a life of devotion and consecration to Him. According to this notion men have been more afraid of holding heterodox opinions than of offending against the moral law. An offense against the law might be forgiven, but according to the last article of the Athanasian Creed, which deals throughout with the profoundest metaphysical and philosophical aspects of our holy religion: "This is the Catholic faith (that is the Athanasian Creed) which except a man believe faithfully (that is truly and firmly) he cannot be saved."

To hold a wrong opinion has therefore been regarded as a fearful thing. It might involve the scoundrel in everlasting punishment. Indeed to doubt even the everlastingness of



punishment was like exposing oneself to just this kind of retribution. To hold an opinion of the Scriptures at variance with the Cannons of the Church was like an affront to God which He would not suffer to go unavenged.

This fact that faith has commonly been made to stand for opinion has made men afraid of having any opinions of their own. It seemed safer to hold the opinions which most other people held, and then if anything went wrong, one would at least have company. At any rate under this view of faith it seemed more comfortable to throw the responsibility of one's opinions on the Church or on the general body of believers, rather than to risk one's eternal salvation by holding opinions at variance with those that the Church approved.

But our age has less and less confidence in the saving efficacy of merely correct doctrinal statements of truth, especially in view of the fact that there do not seem to be any such statements, unless there be some body of believers with arrogance enough to declare all other systems false, and theirs alone true, and whose position would finally be borne out by the verdict of eternity. But surely no sane man or body of men who are acquainted with the history of knowledge would undertake to make such a claim.

All of which, it seems to me, shows that our salvation cannot depend on correct opinions, not upon subscriptions to a given formula, not upon faith in certain doctrinal statements, but upon a faith which unites vitally with God the heart of the believer, and this, I believe, has been the faith of the sincere seeker after salvation from the Garden of Eden to Paul and Peter, and Beecher and Brooks.

Here, then, we have another of the common factors of salvation—even our faith.

IV. The fourth and last factor in salvation that I shall name is character. As sin in its real essence is a condition, a state, a character, so salvation in its real essence is character. While there is much dispute over what is sometimes called salvation by character, there is no question as to the necessity of right conduct in those who profess to be Christians. Paul



taught the necessity of good works as well as James. The Methodist as well as the Roman Catholic insists on right moral conduct in believers. Salvation in the individual therefore does not simply mean deliverance from the guilt and power of sin. That expresses only its negative aspect. It is not enough to feel the removal of a burden. Men must feel that what has been done for them must not remain outside of them; but must be reproduced in their own life. Christian salvation is moral union with Jesus Christ. Christ's attitude toward God and man and the world and sin becomes the saved man's attitude. We invite men to come to Christ, but what do we mean by that. How do men come to Christ? What effect does such an invitation have on the average man? What is his idea of coming to Christ? What else is it than coming to the position, the platform of Christ with reference to the great realities of life and to meet them in the spirit of His life?

We may lay down the tracks on which we insist that this life and power must move, but the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knoweth not whence it cometh and whither it goeth. Salvation is life and power, and these cannot be strictly defined, nor can we explain their origin, except to say that all power is in God and that all life has its origin in Him. Power from the Living God goes out to the believing child for the fulfilment of His saving purpose. God in us; the living Holy Spirit in men—this is the life and power which makes for our salvation.

But what now is it to be saved? We have not yet defined our principal word. I can not do better here than to quote a paragraph from W. N. Clark. "When a man is saved," he says, "according to the Christian doctrine, at least three things occur in his case. First, he is brought out of that wrong and distorted relation to God in which sin had placed him; he receives the unspeakably precious gift of divine forgiveness and comes to his true place as a child of his heavenly Father. He is brought home, henceforth to live at home with his God. Next, under the influence of divine love and truth, by the touch of the divine spirit, the man is brought out of the char-



acter that sin has fastened upon him. He is new-made, and made such as he ought to be. Not at a stroke; but stroke by stroke, step by step, the change comes about. The graces of right character, and the powers that transform conduct take hold upon him, and he becomes what a man ought to be, in godliness and manliness, in purity and truth and helpfulness, in brotherly kindness and righteousness among men. And third, all this is done not in the field of his mortality, but of his immortality, so that he is brought out of the destiny that sin would make for him. Now there is born to him a living hope of endless salvation, growing ever nearer to perfection in the endless life unseen. Thus the man is saved."

These then, to my mind, are the primal factors that enter into the problem of salvation—sin, God ever active in love for man's redemption, faith and character. These have always constituted that common body of facts, present in every message of salvation no matter when or by whom it was proclaimed. The doctrines and theories of the Church in regard to these fundamental facts have varied and changed from time to time, but the facts themselves have remained constant. This of course leaves other matters of great moment, to be yet held subordinate to these elemental facts. In the language of Thomas S. Hastings: "We talk much about the plan of salvation, about saving faith, and about the means of grace, and I suppose we must; but to me there is far more, than in all that conventional and orthodox talk, in that one inspiring verse of Isaiah, 'Behold God is my salvation; I will trust and not be afraid; for the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; He also is become my salvation.'"

The Lord's day, the organized Church of Jesus Christ, the Bible and the Sacraments, all these are of great importance, and can only be neglected at one's peril. And yet all these were made for man and not man for them. They are means of grace to assist him in the redemption and salvation of his life.

So also with the doctrines of the Church—they occupy a place of great importance in the Christian life, and yet they



must be kept in their proper place, and must not be made an indispensable part of the scheme of salvation.

We sometimes say, yes, that may be true with regard to things that are not fundamental, but then, *this* is fundamental. What we usually mean by that is that the things which we believe are fundamental while the things which the other fellow believes, are unimportant, and so the famous formula: "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity" has amounted to very little. If we could all agree on what the fundamentals are, union would be easy. But to the Baptist, baptism by immersion is fundamental, no matter if the whole of the rest of the Christian world rejects it. That is all the more reason why he should not let it go, since it *is* fundamental.

The Episcopalian regards Apostolic succession as so fundamental to the validity of religious rites and ceremonies that he can not give it up, even though it should stand in the way of a union of entire Protestant Christendom. And the Mennonite with his hooks and eyes regards these as so fundamental, that he must refuse to have any religious association with a man who indulges in such a godless luxury or frivolity as buttons and button-holes.

Now it seems to me that unless every denomination with a peculiarity which separates it from the rest of Christendom is ready to unchurch all who do not believe as they do, the position that these things are fundamental is absurd.

This does not mean necessarily that we should obliterate the doctrinal lines of demarcation between the denominations. Truth is so vast and many sided, that we can only hope to get a glimpse of it here and there, and we must not easily let go the visions that have been vouchsafed to us, but my contention is that we must not set up our partial vision of truth as the whole truth, and we must not make our imperfect apprehension of truth the *sine quo non* of salvation. We cannot stop thinking on the great realities of religion. Nor should we, if we could. The necessities of the mind demand that we should have theories and doctrines about the facts of religion. But let us



be willing to grant that these are necessities for the mind and not necessities for the heart. But with the heart man believeth unto righteousness.

My effort has been to direct attention to what I believe to be universal factors in the problem of salvation, factors that have always been present, whenever and wherever the message of salvation has been proclaimed. I have endeavored to separate these elements from the doctrinal contentions which have gathered about them in history, and from the doctrinal systems with which they have been bound up, in order that we might look at them anew as the outstanding facts of the whole scheme of redemption, with which the preacher must ever deal, no matter what the doctrinal standards of the Church with reference to them may be.

To be able to see and feel sin with sufficient clearness to lead one to look to God in confidence and trust for pardon and salvation, issuing in the beginning and the progressive attainment of a new character, like unto that of Jesus Christ—that is Christian Salvation.

READING, PA.



### III.

## THE ATTITUDE OF PRESENT DAY SCIENTISTS TOWARDS RELIGION.

R. C. SCHIEDT.

MODERN science has given us a new earth, it has defined its proper position in the planetary system, determined its origin, composition and possible age, has disentombed from its everlasting hills the memorials of past ages, has mastered the processes of earth's laboratory, has vanquished space and time, chained nature's forces, taught the vapor to toil, the lightning to speak and the wind to worship; chaos and filth are giving way to order and purity, danger and disease to safety and health.

Modern science is also giving us a new heaven—it has removed the curtain and shows us the creator at work, a benign ruler whose laws are absolute, who does not arbitrarily interfere with the motion of the planets or the gravitational movement of the waters, a progressive spirit, who has unfolded Himself in ever new and increasingly resplendent forms of matter and force, never resting, ever serving and revealing Himself in surprisingly new ways and phenomena. Modern science has banished old superstitions, animal fear, grotesque conceptions of the heavenly world, beastly ideas of rewards and punishments, childish beliefs and senile ceremonials. It has on the one hand enormously increased the passion for veracity, for accuracy, for clear statement and plain facts and on the other hand it has, to the same degree, lessened the lust for commercial frauds and the tendencies towards all forms of sham and charlatanery.

Modern science in this sense represents a new stage in the evolution of the race, the stage of the realization of Christian



ideas in an atmosphere of freedom. The polytheism, animism and bookworship of past ages had suppressed the investigation of natural phenomena for thousands of years; scores of the finest minds had perished under the tyrannous lash of primitive religions and Jesus of Nazareth had in vain proclaimed the emancipation of the intellect from the thrall of ecclesiastical assumptions, the freedom of religion from the categories of science and the freedom of science from the visions of religion. Without the bloody wars of the Reformation and the horrors of the French Revolution, modern science, the ripest fruit of Christianity, could have never matured. It is, therefore, only within the last three quarters of a century that our conceptions of earth, of heaven, of God, of man and of nature have been so completely revolutionized that Socratic speculations and transcendental philosophy have been displaced by demonstrations *at oculos et ad hominem*. But the age-old domination of religion over science is still manifest, it still demands that scientific men should openly declare their confession of faith or unfaith in the religious formulas of the past, or religion has at least a curious interest in the attitude of modern scientists towards its tenets.

Two very recent utterances are of great importance in this respect as showing likewise an interest on the part of scientists in religion. They represent at the same time the two most widely prevalent phases of religious attitudes among modern scientists. The one comes from Thomas Edison, the great American inventor, and the other from Sir Oliver Lodge, the noted English physicist. The one is a sweeping annihilation of all the old beliefs in a personal God, in a self-existent soul and in immortality, the other is a restatement of old beliefs in new forms of expression, intelligible to the scientist. The former represents the radicalism of continental Europe as it existed more than a half a century ago, when the new science was in its birth throes and the conflict between the old and the new faith raged most fiercely. The latter represents the reconciliation of the last decade or more, during which noted concessions have been made on both sides. It is a fact worthy of



note, that of the seventeen leading American men of science, now dead but still present day scientists, perhaps only one held Edison's views, and he was not a physicist, but belonged rather to the biological group of scientists, among whom naturally the eternal questions of the human "whence and whither" have been most widely and most acrimoniously discussed. On the other hand we have the testimony of Asa Gray, the Nestor of American botanists and friend of Charles Darwin, that he is "scientifically a Darwinian, philosophically a convinced theist and religiously an acceptor of the creed commonly called the Nicene." Louis Agassiz, the foremost of American naturalists, in his essay on classification says: "All the facts proclaim aloud the one God whom we know, adore and love, and natural history must in good time become the analysis of the thoughts of the creator of the universe as manifested in the animal and vegetable kingdoms." Of James Dwight Dana, first among American geologists, his biographer says: "Dana's character was intensely ethical. And with him ethics was always sanctified and glorified by religious faith. His idea, alike of nature and of human life, was profoundly theistic. Disloyalty to truth was infidelity to God. In his scientific investigations he always felt, like Kepler, that he was thinking God's thoughts after him. Dana was, however, not only a theist but a Christian. Religion was a dominant principle in his life. The influences of his childhood home were strongly religious, and in his early manhood he made public profession of his Christian faith. While residing in New Haven he became a member of the First Congregational Church in that city. His letters written amid the perils of shipwreck and cannibals in the Exploring Expedition reveal the sincerity of his faith in the providential care of a Heavenly Father."

Of Willard Gibbs of Yale, whom the great master mind, physicist, chemist and philosopher, Ostwald calls "the founder of chemical energetics who has given new form and substance to chemistry for another century at least" we read in the *American Journal of Science*, this brief note concerning the



ethical side of his character: "In personal character the same great qualities were apparent, unassuming in manner, genial and kindly in his intercourse with his fellow men, never showing impatience or irritation, devoid of personal ambition of the baser sort or of the slightest desire to exalt himself, he went far toward realizing the ideal of the Christian gentleman. In the minds of those who knew him, the greatness of his intellectual achievements will never overshadow the beauty and dignity of his life."

Rowland, another physicist and renowned Johns Hopkins professor, perhaps the profoundest inventive genius America has produced, who died only a few years ago at the early age of 53, was according to his equally renowned and likeminded colleague Remsen "in matters pertaining to religion philosophic, not emotional. He accepted the underlying principles of the Christian religion and in general his life was in conformity therewith. He lived correctly not because he feared punishment hereafter, not because he had been commanded to, but because he clearly saw that this was the right thing to do. He was as free from anything that could fairly be called sin as anyone I have ever known."

Another John Hopkins professor, a student of Agassiz, called by President David Starr Jordan "the wisest of American zoologists," Dr. William Keith Brooks, has been paraphrased by an English reviewer as to his views on the eternal conception of life as follows: "But supposing the mechanical conception of life to be established, and admitting that the argument from contrivance would thereby lose its force, the attempted proof of the existence of a designer would not on that account be supplanted by disproof. Further, whatever the scientific account of nature may ultimately be, it can throw no light upon the primal cause or the final purpose of the whole or of any part. . . . As to any cause that lies behind the veil of the physical universe science remains forever dumb." More definite and positive are the confessions of Edward Drinker Cope, one of the three great American palæontologists of international repute, of renowned Pennsylvania Quaker stock and



training, but a Neo-Lamarckian in evolution. Of his own beliefs his biographer quotes an extract from a letter written by him in 1886 in which he says: "I learned several things in the time I have lived. Nothing affords so much satisfaction to the mind as the consciousness of having done right, not but that the best people must have regrets for having also done wrong on some occasions. Then we can take comfort in the knowledge that God knows our incapacities and our defects, and pities and helps us; the latter especially if we try to help ourselves;" and again, "I dare not deny a future life and as we all probably wish it, in case it should be happy, we may seek for phenomena which indicate the existence of such a state of happiness in the human mind in this world. If we believe in a development into a future life, we must believe that, as many have gone before us, that future state must be well populated. If this be true I see no difficulty in supporting that communication, and hence prayer is a reasonable thing." Unfortunately there is no positive statement, as to his religious position, extant of Professor Simon Newcomb, by common consent the foremost astronomer of his time and holding the honor of being the World's Nestor of Science on the death of Lord Kelvin. However, we may judge of his general attitude from a remark in his *Reminiscences*, where he says: "I acquired the habit of looking on the characters and capabilities of men as the result of their organism." Joseph Wyman, of Harvard, the great pioneer American anatomist, is described by his daughters as "regularly attending the college services, in vacation the Unitarian Church, and joining the communion, as a lover of hymns, fond of reading the Bible and as distinctly a religious man" and by his biographer "as a man who led a blameless life, thinking always of others rather than of himself and always doing better than he could hope to be done by, enduring the heaviest of all human afflictions with a resignation to which no set forms of piety could have contributed aught of value," and the biographer adds: "Is not this the essence of true religion?" Joseph Le Conte, of the University of California, also of the group of



Agassiz's early students, the most lucid teacher of geological science in America, is the only one who has at length discussed in print the relation of religion to science. In his conception of God he was a theist. Of Christ he says: "The Christ is the ideal man, in whom evolution reached its goal, and therefore the divine man. We are all as men sons of God, the Christ is the well beloved Son. We are all in the image of God; he is the express and perfect image. We are all in various degrees partakers of the divine nature; in Him the divine nature is completely realized. The Christ is undoubtedly a true object of rational worship. There are two and only *two* fundamental moral principles, viz., love to God and love to man. Both of these must be embodied in a rational worship. The one must be embodied in the worship of an Infinite Spirit—God; the other in the worship of the ideal man—the Christ."

The harsh pronunciamento of the living Edison forms a broad contrast to the religious attitude of most of the pioneer American scientists, who lived and died within the last three quarters of a century. However, as far as I can judge their scientific knowledge had hardly any more to do with their religious attitude than their early training, family traditions and individual temperament, but we also discern a difference of temporal distance, a difference between Asa Gray, Agassiz and Dana on the one hand and Rowland and Brooks on the other. The wave of European agnosticism, so-called, did not strike the American shores until late in the last century and the traditional Puritan ideas still had their sway over the older men. Could it be possible that this explains Edison's attitude, and is it conceded that Edison expresses the religious views of living American scientists, while Sir Oliver Lodge is the mouthpiece of English men of science? With your indulgence I shall answer these questions by dealing in reminiscences, which of course largely touch the men in my own particular line of work.

In the early days of the Woods Hole Marine Biological laboratory some twenty years ago the most noted biologists



gathered for six or eight weeks in that far-famed corner of the world for investigation and mutual exchange of ideas. C. O. Whitman, who died last November, then of Clark, later of the University of Chicago, one of the five or six most eminent pupils of Louis Agassiz, was at the head of the laboratory in those days. He was virtually the creator of the Woods Hole laboratory and an impelling force as a personality as well as a scientist. Around him gathered such men as E. B. Wilson, T. H. Morgan, Frederick Lee, Henry Osborn and others, now of Columbia University, Wheeler the zoologist and Fowler the botanist of Harvard, Conklin, now of Princeton, McMurrich, now of Toronto, Andrews, of Hopkins, Gardner, of the Boston Tech., Jacques Loeb, now of the Rockefeller Institute, and a dozen others, while such men as Mark Jordan, Ryder, Macfarlane, Conn, Brooks, Verril, Le Conte, Marsh, Hall, Cope and many more lectured occasionally. In those days embryology was the fashion of evolutionary zoologists in America, the mere systematists had been shelved and Darwinism and Lamarckism were tested as to their specific values. Enthusiasm ran high, criticism overflowed, pride over some new discoveries reigned supreme. I had gone through a similar experience ten, twelve years earlier in Germany, and was particularly interested in the effects which evolution, now no longer condemned by Agassiz, had on the general "Weltanschauung" of these men. I felt that the period of storm and stress had come for America and was anxious to know how the old stronghold of orthodox Puritanism would stand the onslaught. I discussed the question of religion with Whitman, who had come fresh from a professorship at the imperial university of Tokio. I asked him what effect Christianity had on the Japanese university students. He grew impatient, shrugged his shoulders and replied, "None whatever. Why should it? It is a matter not worth discussing." He was one of those severe, exact and exacting men whose mind was predominantly open to concrete facts and with whom spiritual things in the Christian sense were mere chimæras. And as he thought, so the majority of biologists thought; they had



absolutely no interest in religious things of the old type and their spirit was caught by their students, even the girls sneered at the assumption of an eternal life in the spirit. Any attempted discussion on my part always resulted in bitter, acrimonious contentions. Such was the attitude towards the Christian religion among most biologists of the early nineties who had come fresh from German universities or had been fed on the biological literature of Germany. It was the time when Ernst Haeckel had assumed the papal throne in matters biological. It was the dominant spirit at the Sea Isle City Marine Biological laboratory under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania with John A. Ryder as the leading light. And yet when this same John A. Ryder was buried in 1898, I heard the venerable Presbyterian divine and authority on "Ants and Spiders," Dr. Henry C. McCook, in his funeral sermon, say, "that although Ryder did not believe in any of the tenets of the Christian religion he was sure that he would meet his genial friend again around the great white throne as one of the blessed saints of God, because his life had been one long, uninterrupted course of unselfish service and devotion to his fellowmen." I had had many discussions with John A. Ryder, considered one of the most ingenious biologists of his time, on the relation of religion to science, and I had the satisfaction of making him finally acknowledge that after all we only differed in ideals; mine centered in the transcendent importance of things and his in the material, so-called, but that each were of equal value, if we but understood each other's point of view.

However, slowly but surely the attitude of scientists towards religion changed from radical indifference and hostility to silence and restatement of position. Not that the same men changed their opinions radically; the intoxication of their first brilliant achievements, indeed, yielded to a more sober mood, but the belief in the omnipotence of natural selection or the charm of environment had suffered under new tests, the discoveries of Mendel, of Weisman and De Vries had shaken the old Darwinian foundations, the general atmosphere formerly



surcharged with the shouts of purely intellectual triumphs became clarified.

David Starr Jordan, president of Leland Stanford University and supreme authority on fish and fish culture, another of the five or six most brilliant students of Louis Agassiz, became a strong preacher of righteousness, a staunch upholder of that religion which is described as pure and undefiled and consists in visiting the widows and orphans and remaining unspotted from the world, his membership in the Unitarian Church, however, indicates that he is by no means of the old time orthodox persuasion. He is as severe with himself in personal habits as he is in his criticism of others. Sitting aside of him at the table a year or more ago I observed his power of self control in matters of eating and drinking. Knowing that he had been a candidate for the presidency of the United States on the Prohibition ticket I asked him whether he was an absolute radical on this question. He replied: "I neither eat nor drink anything which has no logical scientific relation to normal digestion." The only beverages which he used were water and milk and the only food he ate was of the simplest kind, showing how far he carried his views of a pure and undefiled religion.

Contrary to the former disregard for Sabbath observances I find to-day that both at the Woods Hole and at Cold Spring Harbor laboratories song services are being held every Sunday evening; they are largely attended and generally led by some noted biologist. Last summer I even was requested to address the Cold Spring Harbor assembly on the topic of religion and this year I was booked for six Sunday evening addresses on the relation of religion to science. On careful inquiry I found that a goodly number of the younger biologists belong to orthodox churches acquiescing in but not holding, the orthodox doctrines. A noted biologist, of a noted university, by birth and inheritance a member of the Lutheran church, ventured to speak to me in a half whisper of the unbearable narrowness of his church in doctrinal matters, but he did not seem to have enough interest in things spiritual to speak his mind openly.



Others again took the position that they considered the preacher a theological scientist and expected him to speak as an expert about matters in which they were mere laymen; they thoroughly believed in specialization, which forbids interest in any other sphere of knowledge but one's own.

As universities in America stand to-day I know of but one—although there are undoubtedly others<sup>1</sup>—where the strict Trinitarian views of the old type are held in the scientific department, not by all the members, indeed, but by some of the leading minds, viz., the University of Pennsylvania where the conciliatory spirit of the present provost, the brilliant chemist Dr. Edgar F. Smith, is working wonderful changes in the religious life of the students. Dr. Harshberger, one of the leading American ecological botanists, told me a short while ago on our own campus that he thoroughly believed in the Trinitarian doctrines and considered the fall and the atonement in perfect harmony with evolution. On further inquiry I learned, however, that early training and individual temperament had more to do with his religious views than his science. Perhaps the only type of scientist whose attitude towards religion is largely determined by his science is the radical physiologist, among whom Jacques Loeb is facile princeps. His eagerness to prove that all organic functions are expressions of chemico-physical laws and that there is no such thing as a vital force leads him to a denial of any and all creative activity and with it to the denial of a God and of immortality. Many of them are in full harmony with Edison's agnosticism, but even in Loeb's case it must be remarked that his Hebrew origin and the memory of past and present persecution would partly account for the eagerness to deny the importance of religious factors in human life.

Summing up the American situation of to-day I could say that Edison's sensational agnosticism is not shared by the great majority of scientists, while Gray's orthodox Trinitarianism is sincerely held by only few. The greater number of promi-

<sup>1</sup> The recent book of the great Harvard anatomist, Dr. Thomas Dwight, on *Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist*, proves that most strikingly.



ment representatives stand on the middle ground of semi indifference, declaring themselves incompetent to discuss the question at all. The most definite utterances do not come in this country from the naturalists but from the physiological psychologists and philosophic thinkers, such as James, Royce, Münsterberg, and others. A series of four articles on "Biology as a Basis of Theology" appeared recently in the *Homiletic Review*, which is the only late contribution of note to our general subject of which I know. Professor George E. Dawson, of Springfield, Mass., shows here how the theological idea of God, the idea of the soul, the idea of immortality and the idea of salvation have been affected and modified by modern biological discoveries, especially by those of cellular biology. But while it is a real contribution to the subject under discussion it primarily presents a philosopher's attitude toward religion rather than a scientist's although the philosopher in question seems also to be a trained scientist.

Let us pass from the attitude of American scientists to those of England and the continent and ask "Does Sir Oliver Lodge represent the European attitude towards religion?" Hardly any more than Edison represents the American, but we may say that he speaks the English scientific mind of the present day more accurately than any other man. His articles in the *Hibbard Journal*, which have appeared in book form under the title of *Science and Immortality* are the only real contributions in the English language to our subject which have been made by a modern physicist. They prove that the English people are still predominantly a religious people and that in the intellectual travail of the race the spiritual factor plays a prominent rôle. Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, Tyndal, Romanes, Lodge and many others—all of them have felt the necessity of expressing their religious convictions in print. Sir Oliver Lodge is perhaps more explicit, more concerned about the importance of religious convictions, but if we finally sift his statements and clear away the dross of words and the bombast of phraseology, his orthodoxy differs but slightly from that of his predecessors. "The Universe," he says, "is the



living garment of God, the substance, the outward and visible manifestation of the great one, the permanent and transcendent Deity of our universe, whose spiritual nature we also share" and again he speaks of "an immanent, energizing God of whom we too are fragmentary, struggling, helpful portions." Charles Darwin expressed the same thought some thirty-eight years ago in a letter to a Dutch student in the following words: "But I may say that the impossibility of conceiving this grand and wondrous universe, with our conscious selves, arose through chance, seems to me the chief argument for the existence of God." Herbert Spencer, who was an engineer by vocation and a science-philosopher by avocation, says in *First Principles*: "The consciousness of an Inscrutable Power manifested to us through all phenomena, has been growing ever clearer, and must eventually be freed from its imperfections. The certainty that on the one hand such a Power exists while on the other hand its nature transcends intuition and is beyond imagination is the certainty towards which intelligence has from the first been progressing." John Tyndall tells us in his Belfast address of 1874, which marks the culmination of the period of storm and stress in evolutionary history, that "it will be wise to recognize religions as the forms of force, mischievous if permitted to intrude on the region of objective knowledge, over which it holds no command, but capable of adding, in the region of poetry and emotion, inward completeness and dignity to man." Romanes, in his *Darwin and after Darwin*, discusses the effect which science has had on religion, and claims that the change science has wrought is a fundamental, a cosmical, a world-transforming change, but a change of a *non-theistic* kind as distinguished from an atheistic kind. It has rendered impossible the appearances in literature of any future Paley, Bell or Chalmers, but it has done nothing in the way of negating that belief in a Supreme Being, which it was the object of this author to substantiate. How far he advanced in later years beyond this position is a matter of common knowledge, how much he contributed to the more positive positions of Wallace, Crooks, Henry Drummond.



Lodge and others can easily be surmised. Sir Oliver Lodge defines "life as a guiding and directing principle and when incorporated in a certain organism it and all that appertains to it, may well be called the soul or constructive and controlling element in that organism . . . in higher organisms the soul has lofty potentialities . . . it begins to acquire some of the character of spirit, by which means it becomes related to the Divine Being. Soul appears to be the link between spirit and matter and according to its grade may be linked with one or the other of these two great aspects of the universe. . . . It is the intrinsic reality of anything, while the thing itself may be transitory . . . personality is however not among the transitory groupings . . . a memory, a consciousness and a will constitute a *personality*—it transcends all temporal modes of expression and is essentially eternal whenever it exists. . . . Immortality is the persistence of the essential and the real . . . the conservation of value . . . evolution increases the actuality of values—this carries with it the persistence of personality in all creatures who have risen to the attainment of God-like faculties, such as self determination and other attributes which suggest kinship to deity and make their possessor a member of the divine family."

Sir Oliver Lodge is, however, not orthodox in the generally accepted sense of that term. "Now, that religion," he says, "is becoming so much more real, is being borne again in the spirit of modern criticism and scientific knowledge, may it not be well to ask whether the formal statement of some of the doctrines which we have inherited from mediæval and still earlier times cannot be wisely and inoffensively modified? Consider the doctrine of the atonement and let us ask whether the expression of that doctrine traditionally and officially held or supposed to be held by the churches to-day is satisfactory?"

"In the days when the vicariousness of sin could be accepted and when an original fall of Adam could be held as imputed to the race it was natural to admit the possibility of a vicarious punishment and to accept an imputed righteousness." That was in the days of an angry Jehovah and the wholesale



slaughter of sacrificial animals, in the days of the belief in blood and its potent redeeming efficacy. "As a matter of fact the higher man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishment. His mission, if he is good for anything, is to be up and doing and so far as he acts wrongly or unwisely expects to suffer . . . never either consciously or unconsciously will any one but a cur ask for the punishment to fall on some one else, nor rejoice if told that it already has so fallen . . . no one but a monk could have invented the doctrine of original sin . . . we did not make the world and an attempt to punish us for our animal origin and ancestry would be simply comic, if any one could be found to take it seriously." "The vicarious expiation, the judicial punishment of the innocent and the appeasement of an angry God are surely now recognizable as savage inventions. And so likewise the superior virtue of a one-sided human origin for any Redeemer or Exemplar of mankind seems to be unworthy of a period of spiritual awakening. . . . The truths underlying the great mysteries connected with the appearance and work of Christ are among others: the advent of as lofty a spirit as we can conceive, perfectly human on the bodily side, and perfectly divine on the spiritual side, whatever that may mean . . . further, surely a discovery of the truer nature of God . . . of a being whom it was possible to love, to serve, to worship . . . and there was plenty to reveal: an infinitude of compassion, an ideal of righteousness, the inevitableness of law, the hopelessness of rebellion, the power of faith, the quenching of superstitious fear in filial love, a real not a mechanical salvation, no legal quibble but a deep eternal truth."

What I thus have quoted from Lodge represents most accurately the attitude of most of the eminent English scientists of to-day towards religion, demonstrating how thoroughly the results of modern science in its broadest sense have modified on the one hand the views of the old time conservative Englishmen, such as Lyell, Brewster, Balfour and the 210 naturalists who in 1864 declared that there existed no contradic-



tion between divine revelation and the book of nature and that it was very regrettable when the natural sciences were misused by some to deny the truths of Holy Writ, and how on the other hand some of the formerly essential Christian doctrines have been so thoroughly purged from its dross that they have practically become non-essential.

That the racial characteristics and environmental conditions have a good deal to do with particular religious ideas is especially evident when we consider the attitude of German scientists. Their intense interest in the question, their outspoken frankness, their loud bitterness against ecclesiastical shortcomings are not so much results of scientific discoveries and enlightenment, they are rather manifestations of the Teuton character. When in the fulness of time the struggle between the old and the new faith began in Germany, *i. e.*, when in England the period of storm and stress had reached its climax with Tyndall's ever famous Belfast address in 1874 and the warfare that raged around that address, Spencer's synthetic philosophy began to appear in German translations and Ernst Haeckel's *Natural History of Creation* had been on the market for five or six years, a book written largely for the people and read by the people with intense gusto. I remember those days of storm and stress in Germany particularly well; the aggressive spirit of Haeckel had excited the youth of the Fatherland—youth loves a fight—and Haeckel became their hero. Only Prussian Germany could produce a man like Haeckel, straight, energetic, brisk and unforgiving, with the blood of Luther, Bismarck and Nietzsche in his veins. The calm Darwin tried to pacify him, in vain did Huxley admonish him, his fanaticism on evolution knew no bounds. Du Bois Raymond satirized him; His, Goette, Semper, Claus, Loofs severely condemned him; Haeckel never wavered, he replied by calling his opponents hard names. His, he said, had "no capacity for philosophical discussions, Goette's views were infinite nonsense," Agassiz's opinions "charlatanery," Wigand's were "incredible nonsense," etc. He denies all purpose in nature, all vital energy, all moral order or freedom



of man, the universe is only a complex machinery, on which vibrating atoms are the wheels, which now aggregate into a burning sun and now into a beetle, which now chase the planets through the universe and now cause man to act as a thinking and free being. Two forces govern the world: the repulsion and attraction of the atoms. The soul is the sum of all the highly differentiated functions of the central nervous system among which will and sensation are the most important. A creation by God is unthinkable and against all experience; there is no individual immortality, only matter and force remain, there is no God only a mechanism of atoms, there is no soul only physiological nerve processes; the God of the Christians only a "gaseous vertebrate." Naturally the polemic controversies of those days were spicy and Haeckel's influence over his contemporaries immense. Neither Darwin nor Huxley could have procured for evolutionism that world power which it actually acquired; for Darwin lacked the fighting spirit and Huxley the dogmatic mind, necessary to influence the masses, but Haeckel possessed both qualities to a high degree. They helped him to conquer the people and through them also finally the scientists until Haeckel became the leader of biological science and remained such for forty years. Philosophers, sociologists, linguists and finally even theologians such as the Reformed preacher Kalthoff from the pious Wupperthal went over to his camp. Some of the foremost biologists of to-day have been his pupils—Hertwig, Roux, Long, Verworn, Kückenthal, etc. Darwin, Huxley, Gegenbaur, Lankester, Balfour, Wedersheim, Forel, etc., were his faithful adherents. But Du Bois Raymond, the greatest physiologist of his time, in his address of 1872, "On the Limits of Scientific Knowledge," although himself a materialist turned against the materialists and Haeckel, insisting that psychic discussion should be left out of scientific consideration. Virchow, also a liberal, who was satisfied with Voltaire's dictum if only his tailor believed in God, the founder of cellular pathology and a great Berlin professor like Raymond, opposed Darwinism in general and Haeckel in partic-



ular. The high water mark of the controversy was reached during the 50th anniversary session of the Society of German Scientists in Munich in 1877, one of the most memorable meetings of the society, when Haeckel, Waldeyer, Pettenkofer, Nägeli and Virchow participated in the Darwinian controversy. The physiologist Pettenkofer spoke first without touching Darwin, Waldeyer followed with disparaging remarks on Darwinism and then Haeckel arose and delivered his first great public speech on Darwinism and its application to all spheres of life and knowledge, including education, morality and religion. There was dynamite in his speech, and the impression on the hearers was tremendous though not uniform. Finally Virchow arose to answer; his speech was an admonition to moderation, a severe criticism of Haeckel's theory of the plastitule soul, of soul cells, origin of man, etc., and a warning of the dangerous influence of such theories on Socialism, rampant in those days. The effect was tremendous, the long continued applause showed where the majority of the hearers stood. That was the beginning of a change. Haeckel answered in a brochure "Free Science and Free Teaching," the finest product of his pen, but the defeat of Haeckelian Darwinism in Germany had begun. The Darwinian Journal *Kosmos* even did not dare to stand by Haeckel, but admonished its readers in 1878 "to respect the religious feeling in its simplicity and purity, for the mass of the people listens to the Darwinians and remembers only its negative and destructive criticism and overlooks positive statements." In 1882 the journal went out of print. A second Darwinian journal *The Ausland* changed in 1881 its tendencies, when Hellwald resigned his editorship and the Berlin influence had its right of way.

To-day Haeckel's new religion, called monism, according to which God and the universe are one sole substance still has its host of adherents, but a new school of scientists has arisen with Johannes Reinke, the celebrated botanist of the University of Kiel, at its head, which preaches a healthy dualism. "The knowledge of nature," Reinke says, "leads inevitably to the idea of a personal God. The laws of causality demon-



strate as surely the existence of such a God as they do the existence of nature. The sceptic philosopher may declare this statement unphilosophical, the naturalist trained in the methods of induction and analogy finds in tracing the existence and properties of organisms back to a creating deity not only the most intelligible but also the only conceivable explanation. The assumption of a deity is not poetry, but induction. We find Him by the same method by which we find a natural law. Anyone who says there is no deity because it is an impossibility commits in my judgment a scientific frivolity. If anyone should say 'nature becomes incomprehensible through the assumption of a deity, because the deity is to me incomprehensible,' I would tell him that he could likewise argue that nature is incomprehensible through the assumption of gravity because gravity is incomprehensible to the senses. All investigation of nature demonstrates a deity reigning through law and order and not a lawless and anarchistic deity. It is active in the observed laws of all occurrences, its idea represents symbolically a mystery, through which plants and animals have been created. If God is incomprehensible so is our reason although the latter like the former is active within the realm of natural law. God is beyond all definition because we cannot observe and describe Him, but only perceive His works. Both God and man direct the natural forces according to their will and by means of their intelligence, for the God of the naturalist can as little act against natural laws which are his own laws as the God of the theologian can commit sin. Therefore the study of nature *with* God is fully as remunerative, important and interesting as *without* God, and this is true for all branches of science, as is demonstrated by such eminent theists as Galilei, Kepler, Newton, Lavoisier, Wilhelm Weber, Faraday, Linneus, Sprengel, Cuvier, Pasteur, Agassiz and a host of others. Moreover Reinke's God is not only transcendent but also immanent, active in nature. "He is inventor and engineer at the same time. He lives in nature as really as the spirit of the inventor and manufacturer lives in their machine. But he is also transcendent and above every



organism as Edison is transcendent in relation to every telephone. God is a symbol for the sum of all those intelligent and formative forces which are both transcendent and immanent, creating immanence from transcendence." If we finally ask, in how far natural science should acknowledge the idea of God as a scientific factor we must answer: "Natural science reaches only to the borders of theology and no further. No overlapping of the two sciences is admissible, no theosophic speculation or fiction is permissible in the sphere of science. Just as technology does not speak of the technician, so natural history does not speak of God. That belongs to the study of *Weltanschauungen* which lie far beyond the natural sciences."

Karl Camille Schneider, at present professor of zoology at the University of Vienna, goes considerably farther. In his book on the *Origin and Character of Man* he fully agrees with the theory of the descent of man from the catyrrine monkeys but postulated special intervention of the creator God. This God is the "ego" of the world in which all individualities are contained. He applies Kant's, Goethe's and Schelling's transcendental philosophy to his science, making God the highest ideal. The ideals and God are platonic noumena which are above us in perfection, but not principally different from us. They are also incarnated; from time to time individuals arise in the psychic world which are the representatives of the ideals, and are called godman in case of the incarnation of the highest ego. The cause of incarnation is to be sought in love and faith, through which a sort of evolution of the ego is mediated by the concentration of the individualities in the ideals. Such ideals are personalities which are above the egos and our relation to these ideals is different from that to our fellowmen, it is very intimate but different from love, it is a relative of *faith*. We *believe* in ideals but we *love* men. These ideals exercise a much greater influence over us than men; we obey our ideals, we only *sympathize* with our fellows. *Love* makes our deeds moral, *faith* makes them *religious*. Religion transforms our will in a shall, our character into duty—the voice of our ideals is our conscience. Love makes us



conscientious towards our fellowmen, faith towards our ideals. There are many ideals, but God is the highest—and this God is triune, appearing in the *Holy Spirit* as the *thinker* who comprehends the whole world in his reason, in the *Son* as *perfect action* whose conduct serves as the highest example for all men, in the *Father* as a sentient being who annuls Himself and creates the non-ego, viz., His works. Evolution in this sense is the acquisition of the higher will of which we are capable because the will is our ego and faith is only necessary to identify us with the higher ego. The concentration of the individualities in the ideals is the evolution of the ego which is accomplished through love and faith.”

To sum up we find also among present day scientists in Germany a variety of attitudes towards religion most hopeful and most prevalent among which is the latest tendency of accepting the eternal verities of the belief in a personal God and human immortality and declaring them on the one hand not contradictory to the results of scientific investigation and on the other not objects of such inquiry.

I have so far stated conditions; to go into the causes of these conditions would require a second paper of equal length. Suffice it to say, that the old warfare between faith and knowledge has itself undergone a process of evolution. We are beginning to recognize more and more that these two battling queens in the realm of spirit are sisters, children of the same mother—Causality. Having the same origin and the same aim the contention which divides them is merely a quarrel about methods. What to faith is the inner, blessed conviction and assurance, that is to knowledge the hypothesis, the assumption of the reign of law over and in all phenomena. We know now scientifically that they are at bottom identical functions of our psychic apparatus which in either case influence the individual, according to temperament, to focus his logical activities on a central view, a so-called “*Weltanschauung*,” which becomes unconsciously the standard of judgment. There is nothing more powerful in the world of thought than the formula. It carries us with an irresistible power of sug-



gestion and infection into the sphere of its magic cycles, it rallies in epidemic fashion the masses under its banner and creates new epochs of thought.

If evolution is true, thinking itself is a growth, a gradual maturation of the separate elements of our intellectual and sensory organs until a thought is born, *i. e.*, until the resonant surface is finished necessary for the consonance of a number of accords of vibrating ganglionic elements. That generally happens in the fulness of time when the soil of the evolutionary field is sufficiently prepared for the new germ. But such thoughts would vanish like meteorites on the horizon, if not simultaneously or successively other brains would catch the thought and this may happen at once or centuries after, when the spark falls into nervous systems which are specifically sensitive towards the new light. Therefore formulas which have been hidden in the evolutionary furrows of intellectual apparatuses are so suggestive because other brains have been ready for the junction towards which they have grown. If this is true, it must be conceded that all objective truth is subject to change, because at its first appearance it was the truth of an individual, a subjective truth. And such a truth holds its devotees under its suggestive power until a still more forcible subjective combination relieves the old truth. This is the case in the sphere of both faith and knowledge. In great periods of history both faith and knowledge change their garments. The desire to solve the riddles of the universe is in the believer as well as in the scientist the cause of this or that conviction, and we naturally can point to a series of parallels between the revolutionary history of religion and that of science. This is due to the same psychic function, but the difference of temperament and of calling seems to obliterate the original sameness of its direction. A simple example may illustrate my point. When the scientist claims that God is a probable but unproved hypothesis, the earnest believer may answer, that just the reverse is true, for every hypothesis is only an attempt to explain God's thoughts. Science is impossible without hypothesis; we must therefore admit, that there



is a great unknown on both sides, but according to temperament and training men will reverently personify and symbolize on the one side and coolly but logically analyze on the other side, which not necessarily excludes reverence. In either case however, the ultimate cause of all things is an imagined and substituted fundamental power which cannot be investigated, described or empirically recognized. Science assumes a hypothetical ether which penetrates all matter and fills all space, which is practically the same as the belief in the omnipresence of God, scientifically expressed. So is the law of the conservation of energy the same as the age old idea of immortality, only expressed in terms of physical science. If there is such a thing as vital force, and the neo-vitalistic school of modern biology approaches this possibility, then the immortality of intellectual functions no longer lies outside the sphere of scientific thinking. The same parallelism exists between the monism of science and the monotheism of Judaism, between the polytheism of paganism which preceded the latter and the belief in the many imponderables which preceded the law of the conservation of energy and matter. The same is true of the old dualistic ideas of matter and force, of God and Satan, of energy and resistance, all these are only names for the functional processes in our soul, which are deeply rooted in every human brain, whether influenced by priests or by scientists. Moreover, science is just as dogmatic as the Church. The tenacious clinging to old prejudices, traditions and habits is a universal human obstacle to progress whether it is found in church, state or laboratory. We witness the same insane fits of infallibility in either camp, and the popes of science have never been any less intolerant than those of the Church, and are so to-day. There are monopolies of knowledge as there are monopolies of beliefs. The consistent agnostics in science are twin brothers of the atheists. The will to power is no less at work in the sanhedrim of scientific workers than it is in consistories, classes, synods, councils, assemblies and conclaves of the church. Intolerance, the tendency to proselyte, the con-



demnation of men of different beliefs and a thousand other human weaknesses are prevalent here as well as there.

All these examples prove, that the universally human functions of a soul, *i. e.*, the methods of expressing intellectual tendencies, cannot be essentially modified by the one or other profession or calling, that the human soul in its functions is a unit and that all these human weaknesses must occur in every calling; that therefore the priest and preacher cannot act differently in the propagation of his doctrines from the scientist. This is strikingly illustrated by a comparison of priest and physician, who are the typical, popular representatives of religious and scientific ideas. Their business is the specific care of their fellowmen. They both deal constantly with human misery, human sorrow, human grief and human pain. The one uses the uplifting promises of a kingdom of righteousness and happiness which causes all earthly misery to vanish, the other removes their deplorable conditions by direct chemical alterations of the brain through morphine, narcosis and anæsthetics. The one hypnotizes through the reflex actions of thought transference the other through the chemical alteration of brain functions; both processes are physiologically closely related and have been experimentally tested, to be due to the same mechanism; both are inhibitions of consciousness. In either case it is the strong, suggestive power of personality which is the most essential factor in the process of priest and physician. Religion as a means of comfort and medicine as a means of cure will not act alone; it requires the personal stimulus of faith to open the gates of the soul and cause the truths of salvation to enter in. When the preacher and priest are accused of Jesuitic methods, much more is the physician open to the same accusation. Where is there a physician who is not guilty of many a "pious" lie, necessary to save or prolong his patient's life.

Medicine also knows its popes and episcopates, the belief in chemistry is as strong and fanatical as that in any religious dogma, and scientific heretics have been executed as often as theological heretics, if they were not burned at the stake, they



have been boycotted, scientifically, materially ruined and finally silenced to death.

But knowledge and faith are much more closely related in a positive sense. Every true scientist approaches his problems with profound and sacred reverence, psychologically but little different from the humility with which every true priest approaches the altar. And as the true scientist with the increase of his knowledge grows in admiration and wonderment over the wealth of nature's revelations he resembles exactly the religious man who has spent his life in profound meditations. But the great unifying principle of science and religion is the imagination, which relates them both to the realm of art; without the imagination no new idea is possible, no faith probable. The one roams in the realm of reason, the other in that of feeling. Science will never be able to extinguish religious feeling, and belief can never overcome the results of science.

The warfare between religion and science, an experience of over 20 centuries so graphically described by White and Draper, is on the wane, but we still need to practice mutual tolerance, cherish respect and love for these two twin sisters faith and knowledge, create a reasonable understanding of hypothesis and dogma. Happily the most progressive churchmen freely acknowledge the eminent service science has rendered in the alleviation of human misery and the creation of more rational modes of living, in disseminating useful knowledge and destroying the horrible superstitions of the past; they freely grant science its full share in the creation of a new heaven and a new earth, *i. e.*, in the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. If religion is service to one's fellowman science has surely done a large part in it. If scientific methods have thrown a flood of light upon the interpretation of Holy Writ and the historic value of dogmas, leaving in doubt what is essential and what is non-essential, the church should desist from the mediaeval barbarism of heresy trials. On the other hand the most thoughtful scientists freely acknowledge their indebtedness to the spirit of Christianity, which opened wide the gates of research and investigation, they humbly con-



fess that there are realms of nature and human personality which lie beyond the ken of human investigation, that dogma is of equal value and of equal necessity with hypothesis, that the origin and beginning of matter and life will forever point to the great hypothesis: "In the beginning God," that this God is immanent in nature, the house of many mansions in which he dwells but over which he also rules through the modes of operation of the omnipresent Divine energy, invariable because perfect; that man's spirit is a spark of Divine energy, individuated to the point of self-consciousness and recognition of his relation to God; that this man alone is a child of God as well as a product of nature; that this new relation requires a wholly different mode of Divine operation, called revelation; that this revelation is most perfect in Jesus of Nazareth in whom God walked on earth and that the society or church inspired by Jesus prepares for that kingdom of God, that realm of reason and justice, of truth and blessedness in which character alone is the perfect attitude of the human spirit towards the divine. In short reasonable science and religion agree upon "unity in essentials, liberty in non-essentials and charity in all things."

FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE,  
LANCASTER, PA.



## IV.

### PHILIPS BROOKS.

FREDERIC GARDINER.

Philips Brooks' ancestry is a most fascinating study for any one interested in heredity. Two strains met in him of which his character shows distinct traces. The Brooks, as far back as we trace their line, were practical men of affairs, men who won a place of respect, and often of office, by their sound judgment and unselfish interest in others. They were of retiring disposition, however, and preferred to look on with keen observation rather than take active part in the politics of their time. They were the kind of men who, successful in business, did not care for great riches, but had strong love for family life.

On the other hand his mother was a Philips, and her ancestors were men with a strong vein of idealism, some of them dreamers and poets. The natural result in the New England of their day was that a large proportion became ministers.

William Gray Brooks, the father of our subject, was a successful business man in Boston. He never took any prominent part in public affairs, even through the stirring times of the Civil War, but he kept a most full and interesting diary, showing that he was a very keen observer with wise and sane judgment.

Mary Ann Philips, the mother, was a woman of most intense emotional nature. Her strong affection centered entirely on her family. She seems to have had little or no interest outside of her husband, her children, and her church. She brooded over them with what seems, sometimes, painful solicitude. The one dominating thought was their religious training and she was never for a moment satisfied until they had given their



complete allegiance to their Saviour and openly avowed themselves His servants by becoming members of the Church. Philips Brooks and the older boys delayed this step till very late. She agonized over them in prayer and her unbounded joy when she at last saw them take the long desired step is beautiful to see. Mother and father together were centers of a most beautiful home life. They shared every thought with their children and the children were brought up to share every thing with them and with each other. The evenings were almost always spent together around the common table, sharing in each other's tasks and the common joys and sorrows. The children never outgrew the feeling that their home was the center of their universe and the mother never ceased to feel that they were still children, needing her care no matter how old they grew. The deepest suffering that Philips Brooks ever felt was the loss of first his father and then his mother.

His education followed the regular plan of a Boston boy of good family—the Latin School and then Harvard. He took particular interest in the Classics and in Harvard stood first in Greek and Latin. In his other studies he made no particular mark but he read widely in English Literature of the Classical period. He seems not to have read as much of the contemporary literature of his time. He was noted especially for the brilliant essays written for the societies to which he belonged. These essays show wide reading and a mature power of assimilating what he read, unusual in a boy of his years. In these essays and his relations with his fellows he already showed two qualities which were his special endowment in after life—observation and imagination. He seemed to be able to comprehend the mind of others by looking into his own soul. It was because he saw himself, straight and true and deep, that he could grasp the heart of others. He was always exceptionally modest and objected to adulation, some of which he was already receiving.

After graduating from college he took a position in the Latin School as usher—that is, master. He proved unable to control his class and was obliged very soon to resign the position.



This failure hurt him very deeply and for a time he retired within himself and his notes of this time show that he was inclined to believe that he was not good for anything. The failure however was not surprising for he had not the qualities to maintain discipline—he always disliked to do things by rule, and disliked the machinery even of church organization. I can remember very vividly, when a teacher in his Sunday-school, how we all dreaded his occasional visits because he was sure to throw the whole system into confusion. In later years, when he was often a delegate to diocesan and general conventions, he was bored to death and seldom sat through them.

He thought a great deal about studying for the ministry during this year but could not make up his mind. It is hard to tell just what was going on within but from his letters later to his younger brothers who were facing the same problem, we may judge that he was deterred by the feeling that he would have to yield his personal independence. Another thing which seems to point the same way is, that, in spite of all his mother's urging and prayers, he was still unwilling to be confirmed. In the fall of the next year he went to the Theological School at Alexandria, Va. Even then he would not become a candidate for holy orders but seems to have regarded it as an experiment. He did not like the school at first and found the contrast between the easy going mental habits of the Virginians and the scholarship of Harvard very trying. He was also very much stirred, meeting for the first time the southern point of view on slavery. The Southerner at this time (1856), was very intolerant of any discussion of slavery and Brooks got himself very much disliked by refusing to be muzzled. His letters home during the first year are very sarcastic of Virginia and her ways but he came later to respect and even love them. He made no particular mark in his studies, in fact considered them rather puerile and uninteresting. He was noted among his fellows, however, for his *prayers* which seemed to them to speak more directly to God than they had been used to hear in their prayer meetings. He had made up his mind at the end of the year that nothing would induce him



to come back, but was finally persuaded to return. His father and mother were the principal influence in this decision which proved a very wise one, as he grew more content and happy in his work. He spent most of his time in the study of literature, history and biography, reading the early Fathers in Greek and Latin.

He made it a rule to keep "thought-books" in which he noted very fully the thoughts which came to him and made quotations from his reading. These thought-books are of tremendous interest because they reappear continually in his sermons of later life. They show maturity of thought and those wonderful qualities of insight and intuition which made so much of the power of his later preaching. He is continually gathering illustrations to use in future sermons. These note-books are also full of his poems. He seems to have found this method of expression most natural when he wished to express deep emotion. He had a natural ear for rhythm and there is every reason to suppose, from the specimens that we find, that he would have made his mark as a poet if he had devoted himself to that form of literature. His early sermons have all the qualities of poetry though taking the form of prose. He valued poetry very highly and in his lecture on "Poetry" to the Howard School he said: "There are times when the dullest souls among us fledge unguessed-of wings and turn to sudden poets. There are brooks whose singing is contagious and sun-rises which turn all live men into Memnon statues. We find poems written in the world that we cannot help reading and singing. Out of as prosaic a car window as your road can boast I saw God write a gorgeous poem this very morning. With a fresh sunbeam for a pencil, on a broad sheet of level snow, the diamond letters were spelled out one by one till the whole was aflame with poetry. I could have defied the deadest soul in that hot car to have looked out of that window and not heard that song of the Almighty sing itself within his brain. If any one of you has written poetry by stealth and is ashamed of it, don't show it but if it came from the heart, thank God who put it into your heart to write it."



The last year at Alexandria he was given the position of teaching the young men preparing to enter the seminary in which he was very successful. He seems to have been able to add this work without diminishing his "tale of bricks" in other lines. This is one of the wonders of Brooks—that he seemed to have always the capacity for more work without sacrificing work he already had in hand. During these seminary years he was working hard and he was growing, intellectually and spiritually, in a wonderful way. During the last year he helped in some of the missions established by the students but seems to have been very much depressed by his want of success. One of his classmates has told me the story of an address which was such an utter failure that, as they walked home afterwards, he did not dare to speak and Brooks seemed buried in deep depression. Suddenly Brooks burst out, "That settles it, I shall never be fit to be a minister," and all that his class-mate could say was "Now, Brooks, don't take it so hard. You may do better another time." One difficulty was his great rapidity of speech, which no matter how hard he tried, he could never overcome. There seems to have been some relation between the speed of his thought and the utterance which expressed it, which could not be safely divorced. Even late in life he was always intensely nervous when he first stood up to preach, and anyone who has heard him will remember the hesitation and that deep breath which he always took before beginning, which was as characteristic of him as the rush of wonderful words which followed.

He was called first to the church of the Advent in Philadelphia but would not accept absolutely and agreed to come only on trial. Another instance of his lack of confidence in his own powers. He was not yet appreciated however. One Sunday evening as he was going home with one of the vestrymen Brooks said to him that perhaps he had better leave at once and not wait till the three months were out. All that his companion could say in reply was: "Well, as long as you have begun you had better stay out the time for which you were hired." Still by the time the three months were out he was



called as rector. He found his work to be something greater, more delightful and beautiful, than he had anticipated. He made many friends, largely through Dr. Vinton, his old rector, among them Dr. Weir Mitchell and his sister. Miss Mitchell, who was a great invalid, continued as long as she lived to be his closest friend. When he was in Philadelphia he saw her at least once or twice a week and discussed his inmost thoughts with her. A thing he did with very few. When he was away they exchanged letters at least once a week and after he left Philadelphia this continued till her death. There seems to have been no one else to whom he opened his soul so completely, and she had a deep influence on his life and thought.

Dr. Vinton, his old pastor in Boston, now rector of Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, was the first to appreciate the originality and power of his preaching and gave him frequent opportunities from his pulpit. Increasing numbers crowded to hear him. When Dr. Vinton resigned he was called to take his place and, though he felt the leaving of Advent, there was no question of the larger opportunity thus opened to him, and very reluctantly he accepted. The next nine years were the happiest of his life, full of the abounding activity, delightful social intercourse, and growing power in his church work. The first part of this period covers the Civil War, into the questions and work of which he threw himself with all his power. He was constantly at the call of every good work and a leader in the reform of city evils, a pastor of all the soldiers stationed at or passing through, Philadelphia. (The negroes particularly appealed to him.) He came to be known as the "pastor of the soldiers" and his ministrations were sought after with great eagerness and remembered with deep gratitude. This was the only way in which he could make himself directly felt in the war. He had the strongest desire to be doing something practical for his country in this war, which took a strong hold on his feelings. One amusing incident illustrating this happened at the time of Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania. He was disgusted with the indifference of Philadelphia and of the lack of any preparations by the authorities to meet a



possible attack. He gathered some of his brother clergy, armed them with pick and shovel, since they could not carry fire-arms, and they offered themselves to the authorities to do what they could. The act was effective and, though they did no actual work, stung Philadelphia into a sense of its supineness. He went up to Gettysburg after the battle and ministered to the sick and dying of both armies for several days.

The intensity of feeling which the war aroused in him seems to have increased his powers. There was a strange identification of himself *with* his country. He felt her as if she were a personality and so entered into her spirit as to be able to express what was in her heart and mind as few others. He seemed to feel, too, that he somehow *embodied* this spirit. This power was recognized more and more by the people and reached its highest expression in his Thanksgiving sermon after Gettysburg and in that on the death of Lincoln. It is necessary to emphasize this power of his of entering into public life and public questions because later he deliberately cut out this connection in order to perfect himself more completely in what he felt was his real work. He might have been one of the great moving powers in our national development, an authority like Beecher in awakening the civic conscience. He deliberately confined himself to the spiritual side, believing that the higher and more important. There were always men who could make the application of spiritual principles to practical life; in fact each man whose spirit is alive and growing must make those applications for himself.

One incident of his Philadelphia life is of interest as bringing out his desire for a more intellectual life. It was years before he ceased to long for the life of the scholar in place of that of the preacher and pastor. He felt terribly the tax on his time and how little opportunity he had for real study, yet very few pastors accomplished the amount of study which he regularly found time for. But he was never satisfied with himself in this respect. The call to the chair of history in the Philadelphia Divinity School, like the call later to Harvard College, attracted him immensely. It seemed just what he



really wanted and needed. Now, as later, it was only the fierce protest which was aroused by those who had been helped by his preaching and who felt that they could not live without him, that made him reluctantly give it up. It was easier this time than at the Harvard call. One can easily understand that the Harvard call would draw him as no other intellectual opportunity. I can remember very vividly the intense feeling aroused in Boston and Cambridge. We at Harvard felt, of course, that there could not be any larger sphere for the greatest man than Harvard could give. No influence was left unused to bring him to our point of view. On the other hand, the whole people of Boston cried out for him not to leave them. Not the refined and intellectual people alone but the common people. He was deluged with letters from clerks, mechanics and day-laborers, whose names even he did not know, who told him the inmost secrets of their lives and of how his words had reached them in darkness and despair and made new men of them. He did not finally settle this struggle in his own soul between the demands of what seemed two sides of his life until his long vacation in Europe, when he was forty-six. In that long period of study and contemplation he grasped and made his own the larger unity in which both the intellectual and the emotional find their completion. Then only he at last found rest from the struggle. A brief note of his during that year commenting on another man's life seems to express exactly what we would want to say of his own. "It is not the intellectual man as such, not the man in whom intellect stands crudely forth as the controlling element in life, that other men are drawn to most. The greatest men that ever lived are those in whom you cannot separate the mental and moral lives. You cannot say just what part of their power and success is due to a good heart and what to sound understanding. And in every circle there are apt to appear some persons of great influence and great attractiveness, of whom you never think as being specially intellectual; it startles you; but as you think about your wonder, you discover that it does not come from an absence of the intellectual life in those who are thus spoken of,



but from the fact that the intellectual part of them is so blended and lost in the rounded and symmetrical *unity* of their life that you have never been led to think of it by itself."

The same thought is expressed by him in his lectures on the "Influence of Jesus":

"And in them all there is wrapped up this, which is the truth of all the influence of Jesus over men's minds, that where Socrates brings an argument to meet an objection, Jesus always brings a nature to meet a nature,—a whole being which the truth has filled with strength, to meet another whole being which error has filled with feebleness."

It was this complete welding of two sides of his nature—one of which only is developed in most men—into a higher unity which made his supreme greatness as a man. We shall study later the qualities which made him a great preacher, but all these qualities would never have produced the effect if he had not been something greater yet—a man. Few men have had his unique influence because few men have ever so completely developed the fullness of their manhood. He won this completeness of manhood only by a long and hard struggle which left its mark on him. Few men have been so singularly free throughout their life from suffering from outward circumstances. The intensity of the struggle from within was even more effective in the perfecting of his character through suffering. Dr. Weir Mitchell, than whom no critic is more competent, both for his keen judgment of men and for his intimate knowledge of Brooks, has said:

"I have known a number of men we call great,—poets, statesmen, soldiers,—but Philips was the only one who seemed to me *entirely* great. I have seen him in many of the varied relations of life, and always he left me with a sense of the competent largeness of his nature."<sup>1</sup>

There is another aspect of his complete manhood that it would not be right to omit,—his abounding joy in life. This was partly because he was always a boy. He really never outgrew his boyishness. I can well remember when he was forty-three he expressed his longing to dine at Memorial Hall.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Allen.



I was of course only too delighted to give him the invitation. When he arrived, he looked through the glass doors and seeing the seven hundred students at their meal, he drew a deep breath and cried out, "Oh, I wish I was a boy!" In these Philadelphia days he was full of just animal spirits, showing in whimsical humor and what some people would call undignified fooling. In fact he was very much criticized for what seemed to many quite undignified conduct for a minister. I suspect he rather enjoyed shocking conventional people—he never had much use for convention and was always ready to protest against any convention which savored of unreality. He despised the idea that a minister must go around with a solemn face. A letter of his to Dr. Mitchell will give something of the flavor of this spirit:

*"Dear Weir,—*

*"What a good fellow you are! And dear me how many years ago it is since you began to be a good fellow,—or rather since I began to know what a good fellow you were, when you were a young doctor and I a young parson, and the world so much less aged than it is to-day! You never did a kinder thing than when you offered me your house and home, bread, board, and cook, for three weeks' convention time. Not that I can accept it . . . but I thank you just as truly as if I had been able to come and break all your choicest furniture and drink all your rarest wines. You do not know what you escape by my being unable to do the tempting thing that you propose. Think of what your house would have had to undergo after we left it! You would have found fragments of broken dogmas under the chair cushions and skeletons of sermons in all your bestroom closets."*<sup>2</sup>

There was ever growing, however, a deeper reason for this joy in life,—his possession of the abiding joy of the Christian assurance. He never tired of preaching of this joy as the mark of the true follower of Christ. This abiding joy which he never lost throughout life came from a sense of his nearness to

<sup>2</sup> Allen.



God. Few men have had such a sense of living with God, in living and immediate touch with Him, as did Philips Brooks. It almost radiated from him when you met him. This living with the present God showed in his extemporaneous prayers, even in his theological school days. His schoolmates were impressed with the marked difference between his prayers and that of other men's. One of his classmates says: "We had never heard such prayers, so fervent, trustful, simple, so full of what we should not have guessed was in him, till he testified beside us on his knees." Every one felt when they heard him pray that here was someone who was speaking to a Being who was *real* to him, a Being whom he believed in, loved, and lived with continually. There are two public prayers of his, both brought out by the intense feeling of the Civil War, which show the high-water mark of this power. His emotions seemed to have been hammered by the stress of that period to a white heat and he seemed to be able to gather into himself the full expression of the soul of the nation as it spoke to its God. The first of this was on the steps of Independence Hall at the close of the war, and the other in the great tent in Cambridge on Commemoration Day. On both these occasions he rose to a height which even surpassed himself. He seemed to gather all the experience of those five years, all the suffering and agony he had been through for his country, all the joy in his country's vindication, in her robes now cleaned of the defilement of slavery, all his wonderful sympathy with the offering of the people's best for the cause. He was lifted out of himself and poured it all forth in those inspired prayers which left a never to be forgotten impression. Anyone who has heard Philips Brooks pray can perhaps picture something of what that prayer might have been of which Colonel Higginson says that "when he saw the name of Mr. Brooks on the programme, he wondered why a young man of whom he had never heard should be so chosen. He put himself in a mood of endurance through what he regarded as a dull formality. But with the first sentence from those burning lips, his attitude changed. He found himself listening breath-



less. He felt that he had never heard living prayer before; that here was a man talking straight into the face, into the heart of God. When the "Amen" came, it seemed to him that the occasion was over, that the harmonies of the music had been anticipated, that the poem had been read and the oration already uttered, after such a prayer every other exercise might well be dispensed with."<sup>3</sup>

The move to Boston in 1869 at the age of thirty-three, opens a new period in his life. He had twice refused this call in spite of the strong pull of his love for his mother and father who longed very much to have him at home. There was everything of course to draw him to Boston, it was the home of his family and his ancestors, and he had been steeped in its atmosphere. The exile from Boston's atmosphere is never quite reconciled however much he may learn to love some other place. The work to be done for the Master in Boston must have called to his nature with peculiar strength and at last he yielded.

But it was very hard to leave Philadelphia. He had learned to love it and her people. Philadelphia had taken him to her heart and he had responded with all the warmth of his. He was never as happy again anywhere else and he always looked back with longing in after years to his Philadelphia days.

It is well to pause here perhaps and try to make some estimate of his powers as a preacher because he made a decided change in his method of preaching when he moved to Boston. His reputation as a preacher had been steadily growing through the years in Philadelphia. Not only were crowds regularly turned away from Holy Trinity but his fame had spread over the country. He had received urgent calls from California, from Detroit, Cleveland, New York and Boston. The effect which his preaching produced was unique. The reports in the newspapers speak always of something strange and surprising, something which seemed new and unexplainable. They all mention of course the unpleasant rapidity of his delivery, his splendid physique, and sympathetic voice, but all seem to feel some quality which they do not quite know how to express. This quality produced results in the lives of those to whom he

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Allen.



preached and that I suppose is the real test of the effectiveness of preaching. An analysis of these qualities and powers is extremely difficult but must be attempted. In the first place there was a literary quality to his sermons which perhaps was an original endowment, but which had been carefully and systematically cultivated since his boyhood days. It had been an aim kept steadily before him to perfect his literary style, and he thought no pains and labor too great to spend upon it. This literary quality was perhaps only unconsciously felt in listening to his rapid delivery. There was generally no time to grasp more than the richness of the thought. It is only when you study the printed sermon that you realize how perfect is the diction, how beautiful the rhythm of the sentence. His poetic qualities are felt all through it. Each sentence is a picture, sometimes merely suggested by the use of the words, sometimes more fully developed, but the effect is to produce on the mind a series of pictorial impressions such as the true poet gives. It is hardly necessary to say that this is a most effective way of imparting truth. His sermons also had, that which is the highest perfection of literary style—a *unity of perfect simplicity*. With the peculiarity of his delivery one would almost expect a turgid eloquence but instead we have the clearness of a crystal stream or of a far-sounding bell. All this helped the mind to grasp the truths that he preached but they were not the real power that brought them home.

One thing in his preaching that was startling to his generation, might seem commonplace to us. This was his continually trying to relate theological truth to life. The ordinary preaching had been what we commonly call dogmatic or else hortative. Truth was supposed to be an end and aim in itself but its direct relation to life was lost sight of. A truth to Brooks had no meaning or value until he could see how men had lived it or could live it. He had no interest whatever in the discussion of abstract truth as a matter of opinion. What is generally called "dogmatic theology" seemed to him dry, if not ineffectual. He was always silent when discussions of that kind were going on; but he would think them out until he could see them



as living truths. He would meditate over them, brood over them, he would bring to bear his splendid intellect and his intense emotions until a spark seemed to light them into living fire and you could see the glow even in his face. Then to present this truth most effectively he would use his intimate knowledge of human history, all his wonderful insight, intuitive and cultivated, into the human soul, to illustrate and enforce them.

A passage from his notes will show this eager desire to enter into the lives of those about him, and also give us a glimpse as it were of the working of his mind out of which came the sermon: "In all this traveling one is overcome and oppressed with the multiplicity of life. The single point where we stand is so small, yet it is the best and dearest of all. I would not for the world be anything but this, if I must cease being this in order to be that other thing. But I would fain also be these other things,—these college students, these soldiers in their barracks, these children playing around the old fountain, these actors in their dotage, these merchants in their shops, these peasant women at their toil, these fine ladies with their beauty. I want somehow, somewhere, to be them all! and the simplicity, the singleness of life, with its appointed place and limits, comes over me oppressively. Where is the outlook and the outlet? Must it not be in the possibility, which is not denied to any of us, of getting some conception of life which is large enough to include and comprehend all these and every other form in which men live, or have lived, or will live forever? And is not such a conception to be found in Christ's large truth of God the Father? Oh, to preach or hear some day a worthy sermon on 'In Him we live and move and have our Being.'"

Let me quote here an English opinion of his preaching which will better express what I have been trying to say. "We are disposed to assign to Mr. Brooks the rank of the first preacher of our day. Or, if that be too strong a statement, we shall mend it by saying that his printed sermons are



the best we have ever read. They are, without exception, great sermons. Of the fourteen sermons in this volume, it may be said that they are great in all respects. Great in the gravity of their solemn eloquence, great in the felicity with which word is fitted to thought, and perfect simple expression is given to deep and profound thought; great also in the insight into character, motive, and action, and especially great in the act which presses thought, speech, emotion, into one organic whole. Each sermon stands out clear and vivid before us, perfect in the one simple expression it makes on our mind. It is only as we proceed to analysis that we discover how much complexity and variety have gone to make the unity which is perfect as the unity of a true or of a living organism. There is boundless variety, manifoldness of many sorts, but all held together by a principle of life from within, and not of outward constraint."<sup>4</sup>

But behind all this, was the real power which brought all he had to say home to the hearts of the people and lifted them out of themselves, that is, the man himself. While he always spoke impersonally in his sermons there are few who ever laid bare their own souls more completely to help others. There seemed to be something correlative in his extreme reticence in his social intercourse and his entire giving of himself in the pulpit, and it was because he knew his own soul so thoroughly, because he saw so straight and true, because, unlike most of us, he *would* see things as they really were, that he could speak to the souls of others in words that they recognized as true at once. And the soul out of which he spoke to them was a soul that really lived with God, that was seeking after holiness with an intense longing, with a struggle as fierce as many a man expends on the overcoming of gross sin. It was the man in the fullness of his manhood giving himself to men; but it was a manhood not only strong and vigorous, full of life and power, but purified and holy.

In his lectures on preaching he shows that this giving of himself was not merely instinctive but of deliberate purpose.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Allen.



He says: "There is something beautiful to me in the way in which the utterance of the best part of a man's own life, its essence, its result, which the pulpit makes possible and even tempts, is welcomed by many men, who seem to find all other utterance of themselves impossible. I have known shy, reserved men, who standing in their pulpits, have drawn back before a thousand eyes, veils that were sacredly closed when only one friend's eyes could see. You might talk with them a hundred times and you would not learn so much of what they were as if you heard them preach once. It was partly the impersonality of the great congregation. Humanity, without the offence of individuality, stood before them. It was no violation of their loyalty to themselves to tell their secret to mankind. It was a man who silenced them. But also, besides this, it was, I think, that the sight of many waiting faces set free in them a new clear, knowledge of what their truth or secret was, unsnarled it from petty circumstances into which it had been entangled, called it first into clear consciousness, and then tempted into an utterance with an authority which they did not recognize in an individual curiosity demanding the details of their life. Our race, represented in a great assembly has more authority and more beguilement for many of us than a single man, however near he may be. And he who is silent before the interviewer, pours out the very depths of his soul to the great multitude. He will not print his diary for the world to read, but he will tell his fellow men what Christ may be to them, so that they shall see, as God sees, what Christ has been to him." (Lectures on Preaching.)

In moving to Boston he came into quite a different atmosphere from that which he had left, intellectually more stimulating, socially not so congenial. He was coming back into the environment in which he had been brought up and also coming in touch again with his mother and father. This was a great joy to him and his devotion to them in the midst of the pressure of his duties was beautiful to see. But in spite of it all he seems to have felt his loneliness more than in Philadelphia. He used often to say that he ought to have been married and how



much he felt his loss in not having wife and home. Why he did not marry I suppose we shall never know, but one cannot help but feel that the loneliness of his life which he felt very strongly, in spite of his many friends and their warm admiration, had much to do with shortening his life.

When he took up his work in Boston he resolved to drop all work outside his parish. It was not that he took less interest in civic affairs but that he felt that he needed all his powers for the supreme work of preaching which he now recognized as his special talent. He refused to give addresses or write papers for any secular occasions except those connected with schools. Not long after his arrival the Boston fire destroyed old Trinity Church and the project of building a new one, which had been under discussion for some time, became a necessity. He resolved that this new church should be a splendid monument of what the parish stood for and his parish nobly seconded him in all his plans. But the building proved to be a very much longer operation than was expected and meanwhile the congregation had to worship in Huntingdon Hall. This was a severe test of Dr. Brooks' power of holding his congregation. The hall was in use for other purposes all the week and could not be made to look like a church in any way. Yet it was wonderful to see the crowds that came to hear him. It was seldom, even on a rainy Sunday, that the corridors and even stairways leading to the hall were not filled. He kept up his pastoral work very faithfully through all the disturbance and confusion, and was always at the call of any one in physical or spiritual distress. It seemed sometimes to his friends as if his time was terribly frittered by unnecessary calls. There were many ladies in Boston whose troubles of conscience, if not imaginary, were of little importance, who still insisted upon writing or calling upon him for advice. He refused to slight any of them and always scrupulously answered every letter. That he felt this tax upon his time there is no doubt. I remember being in his study once when he was pouring out some of his beautiful thoughts and we were interrupted by a ring at the bell and a card was brought in. He was gone for



half an hour and came back with clouded brow, stamped into the room, and when I asked, "Why, Doctor, what is the matter?" he said "Oh, some more of those women."

Two books which express the man more fully than anything else were his "Lectures on Preaching" delivered at Yale in 1877 at the age of forty-one and the "Influence of Jesus" delivered in Philadelphia in 1879. The greatest charm of the Yale lectures is that they are really an autobiography of Philips Brooks, the confessions of a great preacher. Allen says of them: "The book is personal throughout. He speaks often of himself freely in the first person, though at other times he veils the revelation. Always he is giving the result of his own reflections and observations of life. It is a book which owes nothing to its predecessors in the same field, of which there are many. He confined himself to preaching as *he* had experienced its working, or studied its method, or observed its power. He recalls how he had come very early to the conclusion that what was desired in the ministry, as the condition of effective preaching, was the combination of learning and intellectual force with the capacity for devout and deep and intense feeling."

In order to understand the purpose of Philips Brooks in writing the "Influence of Jesus" which was the Bohlen Lectures for 1879, we must stop to review the condition of religious thought at the time. It is hard perhaps for one of this generation to understand the seething unrest of the religious world of thirty years ago. Though those of you who have lived through it will recall it vividly. It was not only that scepticism was the fashion of the world and the pride of the sophomore student, but that the earnest religious men felt the foundations on which their life depended shaken to their depths. Spencer had declared with authority that the God whom they worshipped could be only an "unknowable first cause" and Huxley had poured the vials of his keen sarcasm on all which they thought the most precious things of their belief. He had declared that the idea of a revelation was not only impossible but that it was of no more interest to mankind than the mes-



sage from the moon. Tyndale and others had seemed to support these positions with the authority of science, and the German and Dutch investigators, with the authority of a new history. According to what seemed the accepted ideas of the greatest minds, the world was utterly material and man an automaton moved by physical forces beyond his control. Prayer and miracle were of course impossible in such a world.

Nor was it only on the intellectual side that doubts were the current food of thinking, but the unthinking mind of the common people was disturbed by the ranting of Ingersoll. He went up and down through the land throwing his vulgar and shallow criticism against everything that men held most dear. It did not matter to the men of those times that we to-day can see the reason for his attitude in a reaction from his early education, or that we know that many of his criticisms were justified in their essence if not in their form. It seemed then as if he were tearing down the pillars of the house and the whole beautiful fabric in which their fathers had lived and worshipped was falling in ruin about them.

Within the sacred confines of theology itself there was also doubt, unrest and bitter fighting. The question of inspiration seemed then to be bound up with the settlement of the questions of authorship and authenticity of the books of the Bible. The rising tide of higher criticism was being fought tooth and nail by the conservatives, who felt that they could not let go one iota of the ideas of the Bible, as they had been taught them, without danger of losing their whole belief. One particular argument of this conservative attitude was that as Jesus had quoted the Old Testament in certain ways that must settle entirely our attitude towards these questions. In this way the authority or knowledge or even sincerity of Jesus was called into question.

Philips Brooks never argued about these matters of controversy. You might have heard or read all his sermons without noting a mention of any of the current doubts; but yet you will find that they are constantly in his mind only he gives the positive outlook *from* the doubts and not the contro-



versial answer *to* them. So in the "Influence of Jesus" he is presenting to us a Person, a living Person, in living present relation with man, who is the answer to all doubts. Instead of the God whom the preachers before him had presented as a God of power and justice and holiness, Brooks presented Jesus to men as their loving Brother, leading them with his own hand to a Father who is waiting for them. These lectures are a presentation, or better a study, of Jesus as He gives us a living example of this idea in the four great aspects of human life—the moral, the social, the emotional, and the intellectual. Brooks with beautiful simplicity shows us how this idea of Sonship can solve all the problems of life. "The power of Jesus is the idea of Jesus multiplied and projected through the personality of Jesus." He gave what the times needed—not argument but a life. It was not that he discredited dogma,—he was very clear and positive in his own belief in dogma. He did not stand with the so-called leaders of liberal thought with whom some people tried to identify him. He explains this point himself very clearly in *Essays and Addresses* as follows: "And what is another question that is before us perpetually? It is the question of the separation of dogma and life. Men are driven foolishly to say on one side that dogma is everything, and on the other that life is everything. As if there could be any life that did not spring out of truth! As if there could be any truth, that was really felt, that did not manifest itself in life! It is not by doctrine becoming less earnest in filling itself with all the purity of God; It is only by both dogma and life, doctrine and life, becoming vitalized through and through, that they shall reach after and find another. Only when things are alive do they reach out for the fullness of their life and claim that which belongs to them."

This idea that a life of loving obedience to Jesus and a glorious sharing of his life, because we also are sons, is a commonplace of to-day but we must not forget that we owe its general acceptance largely to Brooks. We may have advanced to a wider and fuller idea of our sonship perhaps, "If sons, then



heirs" and therefore fellow workers in his kingdom. Brooks' conception may be pictured as that of the child with his hand in the hand of his father, ours that of the grown son, partner in his father's business.

To the men of his times Philips Brooks' preaching was a veritable new Gospel, coming as a light in darkness, an uplift in despair. They seemed to be floundering in a slough of despond in which there was no solid ground to stand on. He pointed them to a path, firm and clear, which though it had been there all the time they had not seen till he pointed it out to them. Men of every rank of life rejoiced in him, from the highly cultivated Boston intellect to the simple minded hod-carrier. To be in Trinity Church on a Sunday, particularly a Sunday afternoon, when he preached extemporaneously, was to see all sorts and conditions of men crowding every inch of space and hanging breathless on his words for an hour or more. The setting itself of the scene was magnificent. Richardson in building Trinity Church had shown the capacity of entering into the needs of the great man who was to lead the worship there. It is a church of great spaces, both outward and upward, which impresses one with breadth. The four huge columns that support its central tower express strength and sureness. It is so arranged too that everyone of the vast numbers that it holds hears and sees. And Brooks was built on a mould that seemed peculiarly appropriate when he stood up before that crowd. He himself seemed to feel the inspiration of the listening multitude. He would stand for a moment silent, drinking in that inspiration as it were, and his first words were sometimes slow and hesitating, but he soon gathered power from the intense attention and his words came faster and faster until they poured out in that rush of eloquence which carried everybody with him. The impression that he made could be seen in the congregation as they dispersed. There was a silence and quietude as if men and women had been stirred to think as never before. There was a light in their faces which showed that a new and blessed thought had come to lighten their lives. One would often see them draw a long



breath as if they had not had time before in the intense concentration of listening.

The power of his preaching was not confined in these days to Boston or even America, he made the same impression in his frequent visits to England and his influence was extended by his published sermons. Something of this wide influence can be gathered from some of the letters received from his English hearers: "Your visit to us this summer," writes a high dignitary of the Church of England, "has left a mark, spiritual and intellectual, which by God's help, will not soon be effaced from the church which welcomed you and delighted to listen to you. And we, who have to preach and teach, feel that a prophet has been among us, and a new stimulus given us, for which we are heartily grateful and solemnly responsible." "My gratitude," writes another, "has grown and deepened, and now cannot find the proper and suitable words in which to express itself." "I can assure you," writes a member of the legal profession who heard him in the Temple Church. "I will never forget the lessons of charity urged upon us. The older I get, and the more of the world I see, the more I am convinced that if Christianity is to lay hold on the higher order of intellects, it must be by such noble, broad, elevating preaching as yours."

An undergraduate at Oxford describes the impression made when he took his degree: "More than any man I have ever known Philips Brooks possessed that which commanded instant trust, complete confidence,—a power, not only the outcome of a splendid physique, eloquent of strength and protection, of a broad, quick and ever sympathetic mind, but of a great heart filled with love for all his fellowbeings, a love blind to all differences of class and race and which, shining from his kindly eyes, lit up his face with a smile and made him God-like. I was an undergraduate when Oxford conferred the degree of D.D. upon him and I shall never forget him as he appeared before the vice-chancellor clad in his gown of crimson and scarlet, nor the surprise which many of my Oxford friends regarded his splendid athletic proportions and his



perfectly formed head. In applauding Philips Brooks men did not merely applaud a famous preacher. The praise was not by the scholar, the artist, or the athlete, but by those who felt instinctively when they saw him that here was a man as God intended a man to be."

Of the episode of his episcopate I do not need to speak much. He had been twice before elected to the episcopate. In one sense it was the crowning of his life because it was the gift, not only of his church, but of the people of Massachusetts, of the best that they had to give. But on the other hand it made no real change in his life or work and was all too short to give the possibility for an enlargement of his powers. It was less than two years before his great heart was worn out under the added strain and he passed quietly away in January, 1893, at the age of fifty-seven. There is perhaps no better comment on his life than the feeling with which everyone heard of his death. It was not the sense of loss that was first but the feeling of how perfectly natural it all was. Here was a child of God who had lived close to him here on earth and now had just gone home. There was no sense of rebellion, not the feeling that something had been taken from us, but that he had gone to live now where he had always belonged.

Philips Brooks was great in the power of a holy life—great in the dominating power of his spirit which so ruled his whole nature as to build it into a perfect *man*, the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. He was as truly a pioneer and an empire builder in the things of the spirit as Rhodes in material things. He blazed the way for multitudes out of the terrible forest of doubts which beset the world at that time and led many, from all over the world, out of the darkness into the light. One of the great religious leaders of his generation, a genius in the things of the spirit. I cannot close this paper better than by quoting from Dr. Parks, one of his friends in Boston.

"So we parted after a friendship of fifteen years,—friendship made possible only because of his deep sense of the value of the individual soul, which made him very careful not to



dominate a younger and less gifted life. As I look back over the years of delightful communion with him, nothing seems to me more striking than the *unity* of his character. He died just as he had lived,—the keen sense of humor, the scorn of pretentiousness, the love of literature, the ignorance of pain, the shrinking from death, the love of life, the humility that counted others better than himself, the loving heart that loved to the end. All these were shown in the long years that I had known him; they were shown in the last half hour that we talked together. He died as simply, as naturally, as lovingly, as he had lived. It is that same man whom we hope to see.”

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## V.

# THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CLOSER UNION WITH THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

It is my purpose to offer an explanation of certain aspects of the Report on Union which was adopted by the General Synod at Canton, Ohio. The adoption of the Report involves the reference of the Plan of Union "to the Subordinate Judicatories for information and discussion as an acceptable plan for future action subject to such modifications as conditions may require." Statements which have appeared in the daily papers, assertions which have been made in conversation and in synodical discussions, and questions which have been asked by ministers and members in regard to the proposed union, have convinced me that neither the Report nor the General Synod's action on it are clearly understood.

While the Eastern Synod was in session in Philadelphia, the following squib appeared in the *Public Ledger*:

### REFORMED SYNOD TAKES UP MERGER WITH THE PRESBYTERIANS.

"The merger has already been favorably acted upon by the General Synod of the Reformed Church at its meeting in Canton, Ohio, last May, but each of the six Synods will also have to take favorable action. The Presbyterian General Assembly voted for the union at its session in Atlantic City last May."

In the discussion of the report of the Committee of the Eastern Synod on the subject of union, the Joint Committee was criticized for not submitting a sufficiently definite plan of



union, not even a name for the proposed United Church. Another question, frequently discussed in public and private, was whether the Plan of Union practically means a merger with the Presbyterians, or whether it is a modified form of federal union in which each church substantially maintains its identity after the union.

Since the Joint Committee and the Supreme Judicatories of the two churches invite discussion of every phase of this subject, I shall attempt to throw light on some points which seem to be obscure, and at the same time set forth my personal views; for I believe heartily in the principle presented by Pericles in his famous memorial oration, when he says: "The great impediment to action is not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action."

The statement in the *Public Ledger* cited above is, of course, erroneous and misleading from beginning to end. Neither the General Assembly nor the General Synod acted favorably on the Plan of Union or "the merger." Both these judicatories did act favorably on the Concurrent Declarations which affirm that "the Reformed Church in the United States and the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America represent the same type of evangelical Protestant Christianity, commonly known as Reformed or Calvinistic." While differences in the Confessions and the Catechisms are recognized, they are notwithstanding held to be in "essential agreement" and "different expressions of one and the same system of doctrine." Again, the two judicatories resolved, according to the recommendations of the Joint Committee in the Concurrent Declarations, that the whole report of the Committee, including a statement in reference to the Name of the United Church and the Plan of Union, be referred "to the Presbyteries, Classes, and Congregations, to confer in the spirit of comity with reference to the proposed union and to coöperate with one another during the coming triennium whenever practicable with a view to taking definite action for organic union in the Supreme Judicatories of the two Churches in 1914."



It is clear then that the General Assembly and the General Synod ask simply for a consideration and discussion of the material offered by the Joint Committee, for the purpose of finding out the feeling of the constituents of the two churches on the question of closer union. More than that the General Synod does not enjoin upon its subordinate judicatories or its officers and members. Every one, accordingly, is free to express his views without contravening General Synod's action; and nothing but a free, unbiased, and irenical discussion, from every point of view, will fulfill the resolutions of the Synod or the purpose of the Joint Committee. "Presbyteries and Classes and Congregations are to confer in the spirit of comity." The Standard Dictionary defines "comity" as "courtesy in private or public life; kindly consideration for others; friendliness in regard to rights."

A word now in regard to the nature of the report submitted by the Joint Committee. At its first meeting, December 4, 1908, in the Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, it was conceded by all the members present that the sentiment for closer union between the two bodies was not sufficiently deep-rooted and widespread to warrant immediate and final action. Indeed, some of the members on both sides were of the opinion that we had about as much union in the form of alliance and federation as we could reasonably hope for at present. They were inclined to discontinue further negotiations. Others, however, felt that, since the two committees were duly authorized and assembled to discuss and devise plans of closer union, two things should be tried. First, the preparation of a tentative plan of union; second, the cultivation of a spirit of union in the two churches by written and oral discussions. The latter view prevailed, and the General Committee appointed a subcommittee of six, three from each of the two committees, for further consideration and action.

In the first meeting of the subcommittee it was unanimously agreed "*that no plan for closer relation between the two churches was to be considered and urged for adoption which was not accepted with practical unanimity by both Commun-*



ions.” This resolution implies that, unless the sentiment, expressed by the Synods, Presbyteries, Classes, and Congregations of the respective churches during the coming triennium, is clearly and preponderatingly in favor of closer union, the Joint Committee will cease further negotiations.

It was further resolved by the subcommittee that, as a means of introducing the two churches to each other and of cultivating acquaintanceship and an intelligent union sentiment, three papers should be prepared by members of the subcommittee and, with the consent of the General Judicatories, be printed and distributed under the direction of the Boards of Publication of the respective churches. The subjects of the papers are as follows: First, “An Historical Statement as to the Relations of the Presbyterian and the Reformed Church;” second, “The Present Status of the Reformed Church in the United States, Doctrine, Cultus, Polity, and Usages;” third, “A similar statement for the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.”

After a number of meetings, a tentative plan of union was worked out with much labor and care, and finally submitted to the Joint Committee for adoption. At that meeting, however, it turned out that the *name* for the United Church was a stumbling block. Should it be called the “Reformed Church in America,” or the “Presbyterian Church in America,” the “Presbyterian and Reformed Church,” or the “Reformed Presbyterian Church,” or the “Presbyterian (Reformed) Church?” The reader will at once recognize that none of these names is satisfactory. The members of the Reformed Committee were too modest to ask the Presbyterians to relinquish their time-honored name, and to accept the historical name of “Reformed”; and the members of the Presbyterian Committee were too generous to ask the Reformed to yield their name and to accept the name “Presbyterian.” Each one felt, however, that with the surrender of the name went also the thing for which the name stands; and to give up the name was practically to give up the church which one represents. But the question not only involves denominational



honor but also serious legal difficulties. A change of name may invalidate enormous amounts of vested funds, and it will, under any circumstances, require action in the legislatures of the several states. Instead, however, of discontinuing further transactions because of this apparently insuperable difficulty, the Committee decided to make a frank statement to both churches in reference to the name of the proposed United Church. It was thought that, perhaps, if in other respects the churches desired closer union, the matter of a name might be amicably adjusted. It would clearly have been unwise for the Committee to attempt to solve legal difficulties in advance, as some one suggested on the floor of Synod, before the churches had given reasonable assurance of the desirability of union.

These facts account for the Committee's action as embodied in part two of the Report, entitled, "The Name of the United Church." It was not framed in the spirit of evasion or of compromise, but with the view of showing all concerned the difficulty of the problem. If neither church is willing to make a concession in regard to the name, then again further negotiations will prove futile. If some diplomatic genius will invent an appropriate title, which will meet the approval of both churches, he will render a notable service, and the Committee will gladly receive the suggestion.

The "Basis of Union" evidently has been carefully analyzed, since the publication of the Report, and also adversely criticized, at least in the Reformed Church. The absence of reference to the whole question in the Presbyterian Church papers indicates that the report was not discussed in the late sessions of Presbyterian Synods. In the General Assembly last spring it was passed without a word of discussion, with an ease born of the consciousness that the Presbyterian Church has little at stake. It is argued by some that the doctrinal standards of the two churches are not in essential agreement. The action of the late meeting of the Potomac Synod on this point says: "We do not agree with the 'Concurrent Declarations' especially that part which affirms that the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Heidelberg Catechism are in



‘essential argreement’ or sufficiently harmonious to be made the joint basis for a United Church.”

A statement like this from so influential a body as the Potomac Synod requires careful consideration. The fact that a feeling of difference between the symbols of the two bodies exists, is, to say the least, significant, and is not without cause. In comparing the Confessions and Catechisms one must not only consider them as they were interpreted in the time of their composition by their authors and their contemporaries. But the difference of theological development in both churches, since their establishment in the United States, will also have to be taken into account. For, after all, it is not the Confessions in the abstract alone that ought to have weight, but the theological interpretation which they receive at the present time. No one, who knows the history of the two denominations in this country and their present theological status, will deny that there have been serious differences in the past, and it may be questioned whether they have been overcome in the present. These differences have arisen, not through hostility and opposition, but are traceable to national heritage, to the peculiar character of theological controversies, and to the genius of the leaders of the two denominations in the last two centuries. This fact undoubtedly is one reason, at least, why a synod and many thoughtful individuals in both churches, hesitate to declare an essential unity of doctrine. They feel that such a declaration can be made only with questionable evasion, equivocation, and compromise. Far more important than even church union is sincerity, loyalty to conviction, and honesty of profession. Whether Christianity is primarily doctrine, as some think, or life as others think, in either case a virtual agreement in theological interpretation of the standards is an indispensable necessity for a union in sincerity and truth.

To illustrate the difference which has manifested itself in this regard between the Presbyterian and the Reformed Church in the United States in the past, I shall quote two abstracts from the leaders of our church in the last generation. In a sermon before the alumni of the Mercersburg Theological Sem-



inary, delivered at Reading in 1856, Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger said: "Let us have it fairly understood, therefore, that it is not to Saybrook-platform Protestantism that we have plighted our faith and service, nor to the Protestantism of Hartford, Princeton, or New Brunswick, but to that form of it which is distinctly laid down in the standards already alluded to, and which may be easily ascertained by every candid inquirer. . . . As a church, therefore, or as an integral portion of the Evangelical Church we have not only a right to maintain our distinctive character, but we are placed by Providence under special obligations to do so. We are not German Presbyterians, as we are sometimes called. There would be far more propriety in the Presbyterian Church calling itself English Reformed. The title Presbyterian relates to a comparatively unimportant characteristic of the true Church. But we are German Reformed. The strong tendency of the more earnest theology of all the evangelical churches is towards those principles on which the German Reformed Church was originally founded, and for which she has from the first contended. This is the case, with reference to what are usually styled the five distinctive points of Calvinism. The preaching of our day savors far less of the Institutes of Calvin, of the Canons of Dort, or of the Westminster Confession, in reference to these points, than the mild, conciliatory, declarations of the Heidelberg Catechism. And so the Sacraments."

These words are quoted with approval in an article in the *Mercersburg Review*, July, 1872, by Dr. Thomas G. Apple, who adds:

"These Puritan and Presbyterian Confessions, including the Canons of Dort, are certainly a one-sided expression of the old Reformed faith, as expressed in so rich and catholic a spirit in the Heidelberg Catechism."

"The subject which we have considered, may serve to throw light on our relation to the Calvinistic churches around us. We have much in common with the Presbyterian and the Dutch Reformed Church. But it is clear that our own doctrinal position is more comprehensive than theirs, and better



adapted to form a basis of union for the branches of the Reformed Church than theirs. Especially is there much in the history of both denominations to bind us to the Dutch Reformed Church. But we would consider it a great calamity, if we should think for a moment of giving up our broad, catholic position, for one that would give a one-sided expression of the old Reformed faith and life. Nothing would be gained, but much lost, by yielding to a temptation to gain some outward advantage, while at the same time we should surrender any of our internal strength of position."

In the face of such deep-rooted convictions so vigorously expressed, we may well ask whether the theological positions of the sons of these fathers have changed to such an extent, in the course of thirty years, that the men of the Reformed Church may now ignore all past differences, and, without even pausing for a thorough investigation, hasten to join a united general assembly.

Can church union be effected on the basis of sixteenth and seventeenth century confessions? And even if it were brought about by synodical action, would there be any gain for the constituent denominations concerned, or any real advance in the inner life of the Kingdom? Have we not made progress in theological comprehension of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus these three centuries? Has not the Christian consciousness been enriched by the prayers, the labors, and the sacrifices of the descendants of the men of Heidelberg and of Westminster? Is there not an almost universal unrest among the ministry and laity of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches because the old formulas no longer fit the new faith? Principal J. Oswald Dykes, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Eastern Section of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, on the present relation of British Churches to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Liverpool, 1904, says: "Since 1877, nearly if not quite every Church in this Alliance which accepts the Westminster Standards has been endeavoring in one way or another, to adjust its relations to those doctrines. The avowed aim has in every instance been to remove hindrances out of the way of



orthodox members accepting office by making it easier for them to profess adhesion to the existing Standards. It has been found that men who are intelligent and loyal as to the substance of the faith to confessional teaching, find it increasingly difficult to express their faith in the precise terms of the Westminster formularies, or to give an *ex animo* assent in their details to long and archaic documents which carry in every article the pressure and the colour of a period of English history which lies far behind us and was very unlike our own."

I have been told, also, by one who is a reliable authority in the Presbyterian Church, that letters are received almost weekly from intelligent men inquiring about the authority and the meaning of certain articles of the Confession of Faith. A simpler and more comprehensible formula is asked for. Is not the Reformed Church ready to accede to such requests, and to prepare a brief Confession for the use of officials and members, as well as for a basis of union with the Presbyterian Church and even with other churches? May we not now, as members in committee have done, urge the Presbyterian Church to meet us in such a proposition; and, until they are prepared to do that, ought we not to labor peacefully side by side in alliance and in federal union, upon which relations we have already entered, and are now coöperating in the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God in America and in the Orient? Whenever the time is ripe for such a consensus statement, in which the essence of the old is conserved and the substance of the new is incorporated, then has the hour come for a union "which will be just and fair to both sides and will conserve the genius and spirit of both churches."

There are men in the Reformed Church, tried and true, who believe that there is no essential doctrinal difference between the standards of the two denominations; or, even if there is, that it may well be overlooked in the interest of the practical advantages of a united church. All these benefits, however, can be obtained through the Council of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, or the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The mis-



sionary territory in this country and abroad is being distributed among the churches so as to avert overlapping. Weak congregations in missionary fields of different denominations may be honorably merged by the Missionary Boards represented in the Council of Reformed Churches. Reformed and Presbyterian publications can readily be brought to the attention of all bodies in the Council through the Boards of Publication, and coöperation in moral and social reform, in a systematic and authoritative way, may now be obtained both through the Council of Reformed Churches and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. All this can be accomplished without sacrificing denominational identity. May it not be well at this point to emphasize, also, that the churches are at present lured unduly by the snare of the economic and the practical to the neglect of the deeply intellectual and spiritual—those very things for which the Fathers and the Reformers became martyrs? We are in danger of a vague, colorless, and flabby theological latitudinarianism which is equally content with nothing or with everything. There is a sectarian bigotry which must be denounced in unmeasured terms. There is, also, a denominational loyalty, the decline of which will be a serious handicap to a vigorous pursuit of the work of Christ's Kingdom. The last sentence of the quotation from Dr. Apple's article, than whom there was no more ardent advocate of church union in America, keeps ringing in one's ears: "Nothing would be gained but much lost, by yielding to a temptation to gain some outward advantage while at the same time we should surrender any of our internal position."

Let us now consider the kind of union which is proposed in the Plan submitted by the Joint Committee. It has been interpreted in various ways by different men. Many do not profess to be in the clear as to its meaning. Some term it a form of organic union with federal modifications; others call it without hesitation a merger, or a submerger, or at best a sort of benevolent absorption. All seem to agree that, if the union involves the loss of our denominational existence, we are not prepared for the present to consummate it.



The Plan, which is now before us, is of course only tentative and subject to modification before its presentation for final action. Yet I am convinced, as a member of the subcommittee which prepared it after long deliberation and discussion, that it embodies about all that the Presbyterians can honorably grant and the Reformed can respectfully ask. In substance, then, the tentative plan may be regarded as the one which will be offered for final adoption, providing the Joint Committee feels warranted to continue further negotiations.

What is the Reformed Church required to give up? First, it gives up its constitution and form of discipline. Second, it dissolves its General Synod, though for the present the subordinate judicatories remain intact. Third, it surrenders the permanency even of its Synods, Classes, and Congregations, for it opens the way for these bodies to be united with corresponding bodies in the Presbyterian Church by the United General Assembly. The same privilege is allowed the Judicatories of the Presbyterian Church. But that it will ever be exercised by the judicatories of the larger body is palpably improbable. Fourth, it abolishes, though the process may be gradual, all the Boards which are under the control of the General Synod, such as the Missionary Boards, the Sunday-school Boards, etc. In a word, the Reformed Church gives up its denominational existence; and an unprejudiced observer from the outside would regard it as a part of the Presbyterian Church.

What does the Presbyterian Church give up? It is easier to answer this question by asking a second—What does the Presbyterian Church retain? First, it keeps the Form of Government and Book of Discipline. Second, it retains the General Assembly, only in an enlarged form. Third, it preserves the Boards of the General Assembly with one or two additional members. Fourth, how much of a modification in the name it will allow remains to be seen. In short the Presbyterian Church gives up nothing, and in an enlarged form keeps everything it now has.

If it gives up nothing, it does, however, grant the Reformed



Church certain privileges. It permits the General Synod to end its existence and to join the General Assembly. It allows the Classes to send their delegates to the United General Assembly. The historian will cease to write the history of the General Synod and will mark the beginning of the end of the history of the Reformed Church on the day that the United General Assembly opens. He will write, however, a new chapter in the history of the General Assembly enlarged by the addition of sixty Classes, or Presbyteries, formerly known as Reformed. It permits the addition of one or two men on the boards of the Church. It allows, also, that Reformed Synods and Classes may join similar bodies in the Presbyterian Church. It agrees that the Heidelberg Catechism be considered the equivalent of the Westminster Standards, and that the Reformed congregations may continue their present mode of worship. In granting these privileges the Presbyterian Church neither surrenders nor sacrifices an iota of doctrine, polity, or worship. But in the acceptance of them, the Reformed Church surrenders its denominational existence and the autonomy which it enjoyed since the organization of the first synod in 1793. This is more than sacrifice; it approaches suicide. Far be it from us to cast a reproach on the Presbyterian Church or its Committee on Church Coöperation and Union, for the consequences of the proposed union. They are unavoidable and beyond the control of a committee or a church. Yet if that is the case, the Reformed Church has the right, if the convictions of her members disapprove it, to stand aloof from a union of this sort, without being chargeable with repudiating the Zwinglian hand or denying the authority of the prayer of our Lord (John 17: 21).

A comparative study of the ratio of representation of the two churches in the United General Assembly will also serve to show the effect of the union on the Reformed Church. According to the Constitution of the Reformed Church, the ratio of representation of a classis in the General Synod, is one minister and one elder for every ten ministers or fraction thereof. According to the Form of Government of the Presby-



terian Church the ratio of representation of presbyteries is one minister and one elder for every twenty-four ministers and "for each additional fractional number of ministers not less than twelve." The roll of delegates of the last General Synod contains the names of one hundred and fifty ministers and one hundred and fifty elders; that of the General Assembly of the previous year, four hundred and thirty-six ministers and four hundred and thirty-six elders. In the United General Assembly, according to the ratio of representation of the Form of Government, the Reformed Classes would have sixty-six ministers and sixty-six elders, and the Presbyteries, four hundred and thirty-six ministers and four hundred and thirty-six elders; or one Reformed minister to every seven Presbyterian ministers. It does not take a prophet's eye to foresee the part which the Reformed Church would play in the United Assembly. But even now the General Assembly is considered so large that it has become an unwieldy body. The question of reducing the ratio of representation has been seriously discussed; and if the reduction should be effected, which would be altogether reasonable, the proportion of Reformed representation would be reduced to an uninfluential minimum.

It may be argued, however, that for the present the Synods, Classes, and Congregations remain unchanged. But when the General Synod, the natural head of these subordinate judicatories is gone, who will not realize that denominational identity and independence are practically gone also? Headless as the Reformed Church then would be, it would be like the Church in Sardis of which it was said, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and thou art dead." The supreme judicatory of a church plans the practical work of Synods, Classes and Congregations for each year. It controls, through its boards, the missionary operations, Sunday-school work, and other forms of benevolence, and is the court of last resort in all cases of appeal. If the General Synod of the Reformed Church is dissolved and united with the General Assembly, then the occupation of our Synods, Classes, and Consistories clearly is reduced to an acceptance of the action of the United Assembly,



in which the Reformed representation is so small that it becomes practically insignificant. True, these judicatories still have the right of protest; a right, however, which they ought to be slow to use, and which, even if exercised, in the nature of the case could have little weight.

In the light of these facts it is not hard to answer the question, What will be the effect on the Reformed Church if the Plan of Union is adopted? It matters little what the Joint Committee may desire it to be. And here let it be clearly understood that not a member of the Presbyterian Committee, any more than of the Reformed Committee, seeks a union that would be unfair, disadvantageous, or dishonorable to the Reformed Church. Insinuations contained in current expressions, such as "they will take us in," or "they will swallow us up," or "they will let us come in," have no ground so far as the members of the Committees are concerned. Yet, by virtue of their numerical strength, their prestige, and the continuation of the Form of Government and Book of Discipline unchanged, the Presbyterian Church with its 1,339,000 communicants, could not help but absorb the 296,160 communicants of the Reformed Church. The smaller denomination would necessarily have to become Presbyterian. The character of a union of bodies of such unequal size can not be determined by the plan of a committee, or resolutions of synods. It would be controlled by a law higher than ecclesiastical constitutions; namely the law of organic life, by which the larger organism absorbs and assimilates the smaller. The smaller is merged in the larger. It matters little whether the merging is immediate or gradual; so far as the Reformed Church is concerned, it could not honorably accept a plan which would even ultimately work such a result. If in the words of Dr. Bomberger, spoken a generation ago, "We are not German Presbyterians," then surely at this stage of our history we can not become English Presbyterians.

Some one will say, if you favor church union as you profess to do, and yet are opposed to the union now under consideration, what sort of union do you want? I answer, there are



different kinds of unions; and the kind which I strive for, I should term a *truly organic* union. Permit me to define it. When two churches of the same type, or of different types, have both advanced to a higher plane of Christian life and thought, by virtue of deep spiritual experiences usually under the leadership of an epoch-making personality, which have brought them into closer fellowship with the Christ and have deepened and widened their Christian consciousness to such an extent that the new life can no longer be contained in the old forms, and that the two bodies by spontaneous spiritual attractions are brought into one; then we shall have union without evasion, compromise, annihilation, or a one-sided sacrifice of the smaller body. Then both churches will become something different from what they were, without losing the essential truth for which they stood; they will rather conserve the old, and combine it with the new, truth that is continually breaking forth from God's Word and welling up in the hearts of His people. Out of the two there will come a new organism with a new life and a new name. A union on any other basis is doomed to be a mere coalition, a merger, and a forensic transaction without spiritual value. Such a union may be a "far off divine event," but, we believe, that toward it "the whole creation moves." It can not be made by might nor by power; it must come by the spirit of God in the churches.

The efforts for union, which are now made on two continents, are not wrong, undesirable, or fruitless; they are the unmistakable evidence of the activity of the glorified Christ in his church. As there were reformers before the Reformation, so there will be unionists before the Union. In a great movement like this, there always are pioneers who blaze paths; voices in the desert preparing the way for what we are now blindly groping, praying, and working. In the meantime we ought to possess our souls in patience, to coöperate in alliances and federal councils, and to abide in faith the fullness of the time for a union which will conserve diversity in unity and unity in diversity.

There is not a church in American Protestantism that has a



juster claim than has the Reformed Church in the United States for the continuance of its denominational existence. It is not a sect nor a schism which has sprung up on American soil or even in a European land. It traces its origin to the very springs of Protestant Christianity in the sixteenth century. It has distinctive racial, temperamental, and doctrinal characteristics; all of which are so subtle and yet so real that they can hardly be defined in words. They are, nevertheless, so closely interwoven with the life of the Reformed ministers and people, both as a heritage and as an attainment by training in family, school and congregation, that they mold thought and life, word and deed. For us the Kingdom of God becomes historical and concrete, vital and personal, in the unique spirit and form of our denominational life. The church of our inheritance or of our adoption can be relinquished for another only when we have changed our deepest religious convictions, or when, through circumstances, we are compelled to adjust ourselves to the genius and forms of another denomination. It is one thing for an individual here and there, now and then, to change his denominational affiliations. It is an altogether different thing for a group of individuals to give up their denominational existence; for with it goes a part, not only of their own spiritual and ethical life but of that of their fathers for centuries before them.

Surely such a sacrifice is required or such a surrender should be made only under conditions which in the progress of the race are exceedingly unfrequent, and arise under the most extraordinary circumstances. When they do come, however, the call is so clear and the motive so powerful that instead of using argument and persuasion to consummate the change, its consummation could not be hindered by the most convincing logic or by the most powerful armies. Who could have prevented the Reformation when the hour of Protestantism struck? Who can hinder the higher union of churches when the historical time for union has come?

That the Reformed Church has a mission and a message for a union larger than the one now proposed, is powerfully set



forth in a sermon by Dr. Briggs, who will be regarded as an impartial and unprejudiced observer, when he says, "The German Reformed have the distinguished honor in this country of remaining undivided. There have been controversies among their churches, of much greater importance than those which rent asunder the Dutch Reformed and the British Presbyterians, but the German Reformed have ever remained true to the genuine type of the Heidelberg Catechism. The German Reformed Church has retained the comprehensive character of the original Reformed theology, rather than the distinctive Calvinistic peculiarities of that type. She has the graceful form and well-rounded proportions of a blooming daughter of the Reformation. One does not see in her as in so many Reformed Churches the sharp visage and the angular proportions of a venerable dame who has spent her days and wasted her strength in fruitless contention with her own flesh and blood. Wherefore the German Reformed occupy the best position in our country to mediate between the different churches of the Reformation and to take the lead in the Reunion movement."

LANCASTER, PA.



## VI.

### WHAT CHRIST BROUGHT TO THE SCHOOLROOM.

A. THOS. G. APPLE.

“Thou art a Teacher sent from God.” Nicodemus, addressing Jesus of Nazareth in these words, voices the conviction of his associates, who were the religious teachers of a people that has been universally recognized as the religious teacher of humanity.

“The multitudes were astonished at his teaching: for He taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes.” So Matthew describes the artless impression of the people that in growing numbers followed Jesus from place to place.

These two judgments—of the people, and of their leaders—voice the conviction of the whole world through all the centuries. Whatever else is to be said of Jesus’ person and work as the Saviour of the world, it is true that He was the greatest teacher the world ever has seen. The function of Saviour included that of Teacher. And in the mighty transformation of every one of the interests of human life wrought by His person and life, the science and practice of teaching has received its own large share.

To realize this let us seek for the reasons for that marvellous attraction that brought men of all stations to sit at His feet, and also for the causes of this transformation that is the central phenomenon of all history.

The secret of Jesus’ power as a teacher is that which gave Him His power over men in all other things, namely His unconquerable, self-sacrificing love. We may speak of a teacher’s theory or his philosophy; we may speak of a teacher’s methods of instruction; we may take account of the substance of his teaching; yet all must give way in importance to that which is



the formative principle of his life—that which *drives* him to be a teacher. And so we need to consider the love of Jesus for humanity as it operated to make Him the Teacher of all teachers.

From His love resulted His interest, His knowledge, His sympathy. No human interest so remote but it attracted Him. He was above all things a man of the world in the best sense of the term. Where the streams of life flowed in fullest power, there He was ever to be found. The only thing that forced Him out of the cities into the country was the very denseness of the crowds that thronged Him, as well as His need of the pure breath of communion with His heavenly Father. “He eats and drinks with sinners,” “He associates with publicans and others of the lowest classes,” “He is a wine-bibber and a glutton,” are the accusations of His enemies, and in them they unconsciously testify to His incomprehensible interest in humanity, an interest that refused to recognize any class distinctions, and which considered the most precious things of life’s advantages to be the sacred right of all.

His knowledge of humanity recognized its weakness as well as its strength. Man’s ignorance, his sin, his need, by the intensity of its appeal drew Him down to the depths of the lowest misery; yet at the same time it kept Him upon the heights, where, independent of any entangling alliances with the forces of humanity about Him, He would be the more free to extend the helping hand wherever help was needed. “He knew what was in man,” both of good and of bad, and with abiding faith in the essential character of the good to be found in even the worst, He devoted Himself to the work of bringing each one to recognize the seed of goodness in his own soul, and to respect himself and his fellow man because of it. And it is in the light of this recognized goodness and the glow of reverence for it as a gift of God that we find the secret of the influence which Jesus could wield over every man and woman with whom He came in contact. For His enduring faith in human nature saw that to bring the soul to recognize its original birth-



right was the only influence that would lead eventually to the purification of the desires, the emancipation of the reason, and the final enthronement of the will.

In the sensitiveness of His sympathy for essential humanity we see involved the whole secret of His marvellous ability to deal with men and women of every station, as they came to Him singly or in crowds. His effort is always directed towards bringing them to know themselves and to realize their relations to others in the world in which they are placed. This world was not, in His view, an environment indifferent or hostile to them, but a world of spiritual forces manifested in outward forms—an organic whole of which man was a living member. And therefore the end He sought was to put these spiritual forces into the hand of each one, and then encourage him to use them as the instrument by which he can rise to the enjoyment of true freedom.

The world of nature and the world of humanity are therefore a symbol—a series of symbols—of the truth which He would teach. They are this not because of some outward mechanical resemblance, but because of an inward essential unity. The fatherhood of God, for instance, which is the unifying conception of all the parables, is not merely a something presenting striking points of resemblance to human fatherhood; it is a relation essentially the same. The seed is the Word, not because of a series of analogies seized by the imagination, but because of an inward correspondence existing in the ultimate unity of all life, both spiritual and natural. Sometimes the relation may not be so close or vital: the unjust judge or the faithless steward are little more than analogies. Yet even here Jesus recognized the unity of ethical relations; and it was His hearers' instinctive sense of the reality of these relations that made the appeal of His parables so strong.

In the prevailingly parabolic form of His preaching we see in Jesus the instinct and the method of the true teacher. He is leading His school from the known to the unknown. The unknown is a true selfconsciousness, the known is the whole world



of nature and humanity; and the known becomes the vehicle of the unknown because of the inward organic relation of the two. No interest therefore, in heaven or in earth or in hades, but is laid under tribute to furnish Him material for illustration. It is the winds blowing where they list; the seed growing and fruiting freely in the good soil, or choked among thorns or smothered by stones; song birds in the tree tops; lilies blooming in the field; flocks of docile sheep wending their homeward way. The relations of man with man open up another world of familiar images; the judge and the culprit; master and servant; merchant and buyer; children at play; family life; parents and children.

Nor is it in Jesus' discernment alone of this wealth of material that we see the instinct of the teacher; but still more clearly is it shown in the loving tact by which He gains for the truth an entrance into the heart. At one time it is a "Ruler in Israel" who is given a reminder as courteous as it is insistent, that he as a teacher ought to understand the substance of what he teaches. At another time it is an outcast woman, and she has pointed out to her the irregularity of her life with five paramours, with such consideration that it leads to her enlightenment and conversion. And if the case of the rich young ruler is in doubt as to its final outcome, it is at all events apparent that the treatment accomplished its purpose in causing the young man of himself to find himself, and to have been brought by his own reflection face to face with the truth; so that thenceforth it remained with himself to choose whether or not to act accordingly. And this after all is the limit to all teaching.

The one great truth, in fine, which Jesus would lead His hearers to discover is the supreme dignity and worth of human nature, and the priceless value of the individual. "You are a king," He would say to every publican and sinner; and He would bring the truth home by causing the publican to discover the truth himself. The apostle John has preserved for us a few of these talks of Jesus. Sometimes it is with individuals, as with Nicodemus or the Samaritan woman; or with



a multitude, as the people in the synagog of Capernaum when He spoke about the bread of life. In all these, as we follow the thought from point to point, led by gradual but sure steps to the final conclusion, we are forcibly reminded of some of the conversations of that other educator with whom Jesus has been compared, Socrates.

The very term "Kingdom of God," which embraces so much of the real message of Jesus to the world, is itself the embodiment of this same conception of the worth of humanity. For what is meant by the kingdom of God if it is not humanity itself; humanity, redeemed, spontaneously obedient, instinct throughout with love to God and love to man; humanity with all its capacities and powers dedicated to the service of Him who is its King? This is, at least from one point of view, the great lesson the Teacher of men came to teach. And so firmly was He convinced of its reality, and so filled with enthusiasm as to the possibility of its realization, that He let His countrymen nail Him to the cross rather than prove false to the blessed ideal.

We have just now mentioned the comparison of Socrates and Jesus as the two great teachers. In many ways the comparison is true; in many ways the spirit and method of the two are strikingly similar. But there is a deep-lying contrast, that becomes stronger and clearer the further we go until we are more impressed with the differences than with the resemblances.

Socrates represents the best development of Greek teaching, and therefore of world culture—for the schoolroom of the world was at Athens; and Greek culture was the final effort of humanity in the evolutionary process when Jesus came; and this attempt which culminated in the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle was by this time beginning to exhaust its vitality. It will therefore be interesting to compare the greatest teacher of the ancient time with the greatest Teacher of all time. Let us make the comparison.

A good picture of the genius and method of Socrates occurs



in a little dialog between him and the Thirty Tyrants, by whom the philosopher had been virtually forbidden to teach. Athens had become "corrupt and contented," and Socrates one day had quietly let drop a remark that had so laid bare the methods and animus of "the gang" that, though it barely touched the sensory nerve, it stung.

Thereupon Critias and Charicles, two of the Thirty, sent for Socrates, read the law to him—incidentally the "riot act"—and forbade him henceforth to hold conversations with the young. Whereat ensued the following colloquy:

"Socrates inquired of them whether he might be permitted to ask questions touching what might seem obscure to him in this prohibition. Upon permission being granted, he said:

"'I am prepared to obey the laws, but that I may not violate them through ignorance, I would have you clearly inform me whether you interdict the art of speaking because it belongs to the number of things which are good, or because it belongs to the number of things which are bad. In the first case, one ought henceforth to abstain from speaking what is good; in the second, it is clear that the effort should be to speak what is right.'

"Thereupon Charicles became angry, and said:

"'Since you do not understand us, we will give you something easier to comprehend: we forbid you absolutely to hold conversation with the young.'

"'In order that it may be clearly seen,' said Socrates, 'whether I depart from what is enjoined, tell me at what age a youth becomes a man.'

"'At the time he is eligible to the senate, for he has not acquired prudence till then; so do not speak to young men who are below the age of thirty.'

"'But if I wish to buy something of a merchant who is below the age of thirty, may I ask him at what price he sells it?'

"'Certainly you may ask such a question; but you are accustomed to raise inquiries about multitudes of things which



are perfectly well known to you; it is this which is forbidden.'

"'So I must not reply to a young man who asks me where Charicles lives, or where Critias is?'

"'You may reply to such questions, but recollect, Socrates, you must let alone the shoemakers and smiths and other artisans, for I think they must already be very much worn out by being so often in your mouth.'

"'I must therefore,' concluded Socrates, 'forego the illustrations I draw from these occupations relative to justice, piety, and all the virtues.'"

The gleam of moral earnestness in this last remark illumines the real purpose of the philosopher throughout the colloquy and invests it with a perennial dignity.

But we have only to place this scene alongside any one of those in which Jesus was placed in similar circumstances in order to feel contrasts to be far more profound than resemblances.

In the beginning we are reminded of a very similar question asked in Galilee: "Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath day or to do evil; to heal or to kill?"

But in spite of the moral earnestness of Socrates—and in this he stands a beacon light in his own and all other ages—the question of Jesus falls into a higher class by itself, because of that which lies back of it. Socrates seeks liberty of speech; Jesus seeks freedom to act—untrammelled power to help and to heal.

This is not an accidental contrast, but it reveals the Greek mind and heart in its passion for dialectic gymnastics, a passion that threatened, in the centuries after Christ, to lead the church far afield and which did eventually eat out the heart of the oriental portion and opened the way for the advent of Mohammedanism.

In Jesus, on the other hand, we see not so much a mind working from within the life of the people to whom he by birth belonged (and the Jewish people admittedly surpassed all others in the depth of their moral earnestness), but we see in



Jesus a genius rising in His moral and spiritual might above His people, above His age, above all ages, and becoming the example to the whole human race.

The contrast becomes deeper the farther we go. Much as we admire Socrates for the purity of his disinterestedness, the nobility of his self-sacrifice, we cannot altogether escape the impression in many of his dialogues of what in a less man we would term priggishness and vanity. At times we almost hear a little self-satisfied chuckle as he watches his shots hit their mark and sees his adversary sprawling in confusion. That little chuckle was never heard in Jerusalem or Galilee. The Socratic irony, by which name it was dignified, was a vanishing quantity in the discourses of Jesus. We believe it is there and at times it is used with tremendous power, but it becomes so infused with an all-consuming love and sympathy that it ceases to be the same thing.

While we shall never cease to admire the heroism of the Grand Old Man of Athens, true as he was till death; while he will be accorded to the end of time the unique position of the highest point to which human disinterestedness attained before the coming of Christ; while he will ever be accorded a place as the one in whom above all others the true instinct of the Teacher showed itself as an all-consuming love for youth and a fixed purpose to lead them out into the enjoyment of their heritage; yet the more we examine the circumstances of their lives and their deaths, the more the conviction is forced upon our reason that the hemlock cup can never be placed beside the Cross, and that the last cry from Calvary, "It is finished" could not without blasphemy be put into the mouth of the condemned prisoner of Athens. In a word Jesus is not so much the greatest amongst other great teachers of the world as He is the Teacher of all time; who is preëminent, not so much as a towering peak rises from amongst a range of hills, but rather as the silent stars are higher than the moonlit mountain tops.

The schoolroom has felt the presence of this Inspirer of all



Teachers chiefly, and we might say wholly in the form of inspiration. Jesus taught no science and can scarce be said to have originated any method. As to the last he merely took what was here and by his inspiration brought it to more perfect and powerful action, just as the player tunes his instrument and makes it send forth finer tones that are at the same time more strongly penetrating. It is in the divine touch of His love and sympathy, producing a like love and sympathy in the teacher's soul, that the secret of secrets can be learned. While this is being achieved—and it is a life process—the method takes care of itself.

The strange thing, however, is the slowness with which the principles brought to light by Jesus made their way in the world. Eighteen centuries must pass before they become a clearly marked, practical, transforming force in the practice of teaching. Lack of time alone prevents an entrance upon that wonderful history, and this we regret, for it is one of the most fascinating studies possible to follow this course down through the centuries—a course marked by the personality of great teachers, who in their time dominated emperors and fashioned the currents of history more than all the generals. We see the precious results of the classic civilization trampled under the hoofs of Attila's warhorse, or trailed in the dust by Alaric's barbarians. We see a new Teutonic civilization founded on the ruins of the old, and starting almost from the very beginning the arduous task that had been so well accomplished in Athens and Alexandria. We see reformers like Charlemagne and his faithful teacher Alcuin toiling on with methods no better than those long before found to be unequal to the task in Greece and Rome. We see these successes quickly quenched in war and bloodshed, while a long night settles upon Europe, and learning flees to the Arabs. We trace the rise of the schoolmen, with their endless syllogism; and while we perceive the signs of a dawning day, we hear much that is little else than the rattle of an empty mill. They are more concerned with the machinery of reasoning than with its substance, and listen



to the noise of the revolving wheels, indifferent whether the grain is ground to feed the souls of men. We feel the hope of the Renaissance; but the great awakening has partly spent its force by the time its rising waves have reached the schoolroom. And it needs a French Revolution, quick to see, though powerless to actualize the principles of the new and universal education. It needs the sufferings of a Pestalozzi and a Froebel before the modern world begins to see at last the true meaning of education, namely, the right of every one, both high and low, to the opportunity to find himself in all the wealth of God-given talents, and to have freest scope to use them.

In this evolution in which through the passing centuries the Christ-inspired teacher has been seeking, first to catch the spirit of the Great Teacher, and then to actualize it in systems and in schools, we see at work two great opposing principles. We may term them the monastic and the humanistic. In no one do we see a more complete embodiment of both these than in that man who did more than any other to fashion and inspire the monastic system which became the educational institution of the middle ages, and who at the same time underneath his uncouth and violent exterior shows a heart full of tenderest affection, of profoundest respect for woman, and most sensitive interest in all the affairs of life in general; a man in short whose personality through his vast scholarship, and his translation of the Scriptures into the common tongue—the Vulgate—dominated the world through a thousand years. I refer to Jerome.

There is a letter of his extant written to a mother in Rome, who has consulted him about the education of her daughter, that bears so directly upon our subject and illustrates so clearly what I have said that I ask your attention to a somewhat full quotation from it.

“Get for her,” he writes, and we seem to be reading from a work on pedagogy from the twentieth century instead of directions from a monk sitting in his lonely cell in Bethlehem at the



close of the fourth. "Get for her a set of letters made of box-wood or of ivory and call each by its proper name. Let her play with these, so that even her play may teach her something . . ." (Froebel, fourteen centuries before his time). "Moreover, so soon as she begins to use the style upon the wax, and her hand is still faltering, either guide her soft fingers by laying your hand upon hers, or else have simple copies cut upon a tablet, so that her efforts combined within these limits may keep to the lines traced out for her and not stray outside of these. Offer prizes for good spelling and draw her onward with little gifts such as children of her age delight in" (Froebel again). "And let her have companions in her lessons to excite emulation in her, that she may be stimulated when she sees them praised. You must not scold her if she is slow to learn but must employ praise to excite her mind, so that she may be glad when she excels others, and sorry when she is excelled by them. Above all you must take care not to make her lessons distasteful to her lest a dislike for them conceived in childhood may continue into her maturer years . . ."

Has the nurture of the child anywhere been put more succinctly or with sweeter tenderness! We find it hard to realize that it comes from a man who had never been a father, and to whom the joys of wedded life were but concessions to the flesh soiled with sin.

But all this is but the unconscious cry of his human heart demanding to have recognition in the age about to begin—the age succeeding the sack of Rome—the age that is to replace the worn-out civilization of the ancient world. It is but a solitary cry that finds no answer in that age of blood and terror; and it is soon drowned out by the voices of chanting monks and the "swish" of the whip of the flagellant. There is another side to Jerome, a spirit formed and moulded we believe by the age in which he lived, but which in turn fashioned the life of the world, and cramped and repressed its generous impulses through many long centuries. There is another side to Jerome, unlovable and unloving, harsh, vain,



intolerant, vindictive. In the former spirit he could love his friend, Rufinus, with an affection which has few parallels in history; in the latter he will sacrifice that friendship without a scruple and say harshest things, long after the heat of the controversy that had divided them was past, and even after his friend should have been given the protection of the grave.

And so as he proceeds with his directions for the education of little Paula we find the ascetic more and more obscuring the man. The little girl is, of course, to be devoted to the heavenly Spouse, and at last to find her place in a convent. Therefore, of course, no young man must greet her with smiles. "If our little virgin goes to keep solemn eves and all night vigils, let her not stir a hair's breadth from her mother's side. She must not single out one of her maids to make her a special favorite or a confidante." And then follows prescriptions for a life of stern asceticism made up of frequent and prolonged vigils, fasts, reading and prayers. "Let her be deaf to the sound of the organ, and not know even the uses of the pipe, the lyre and the cithern," are the words by which he shows his disdain for the art that not only possesses the highest refining influences, but which has furthered the cause of religion itself more than any other. And thus as he proceeds we seem to see in the man himself an image of the age that is just beginning, an age that he is destined to exercise so large an influence in moulding—an age in which the human instincts were crushed, and the soul left no solace but a "religion of despair."

It is a far cry from Jerome to Pestalozzi—from the fourth to the eighteenth century. But the Christ spirit which appears with such tender interest and affection in the earlier regime of Paula, and which it must be said appears again and again in all Jerome's writings—this Christ spirit never disappeared from the world; but found its exponents in a glorious company of apostles, and martyrs too, standing and fighting and suffering for the Christian principle of education: the supreme worth of humanity, the universal right shared by even the humblest for



the chance to know its powers and to exercise them with fullest freedom for its own well-being and the well-being of others.

As a champion of this spirit stood the liberal Charlemagne and his faithful commissioner of education, Alcuin; also Alfred of England who said, "Englishmen ought always to be free, as free as their own thoughts," and "Freeborn sons should know how to read and write." We see among the cloud of witnesses such contrasted temperaments as Luther and Erasmus, Calvin and Tyndall, Zwingli and Herbert Spencer. We find such men as the brilliant Fenelon, educator of a headstrong prince, and by his success the saviour of his people from nameless miseries. We see La Chalotais, the teacher and the philosopher, teaching by scientific experiments, Bacon and the simple-hearted Comenius, teaching by pictures. The philosopher Descartes, Diderot the brilliant encyclopedist, and Roland the practical instructor, each from his own point of view, pleads for the universal right of education. Even LaSalle, who scarcely rises above the severely ascetic temper of his surroundings, contributes to the advance toward humanity by substituting the minutely regulated use of the rod, the ferule, and various penances for the unbridled license of personal abuse in the schoolroom, while at the same time he makes his most enduring contribution in the establishment of industrial schools, and with sublime heroism dedicates himself and his fortune that the poor may have gratuitous education. Kant, by the moral earnestness of his philosophy gives added dignity to the work of teaching, and places it in the true light by that thought which embodies the whole idea of the Incarnation; namely, that all culture is the result of the vital union of the superior coming down and allying itself with the inferior for the purpose of raising it up. Woman emerges from her obscurity in the convent or the home and adds her share; and Jacqueline Pascal, Madame de Maintenon and others contribute by their life-work to lead the world a few steps onward by granting to their own sex the rights to real culture to which their humanity entitles them. Even fiction contributes its



share; and creatures of the imagination, ideals, often Utopian, of a perfectly educated man—Gargantua from the brain of Rabelais, Rousseau's *Emile*, Leonard and Gertrude from the heart of Pestalozzi—these move like ghosts through the halls of learning, luring the educator on to better things.

Finally the French Revolution bursts upon the world. But those who exploded the blast, blinded, bruised and suffocated, were unable to utilize the treasure laid bare. It remained for others after the smoke had cleared away to gather it for the enrichment of the world. The French Revolution, so far as concerns its bearing upon the development of education, is remarkable for the great number of plans and theories (many of them most excellent) for universal education, and at the same time for its utter impotency to carry them into execution. Bill follows bill from the successive legislative bodies as they rise and fall—no one of them without its educational measure. But the convention that gives it birth dies before the measure attains to practical life, and the cause of education is made worse than ever. It remained for the strong hand of the Dictator, the First Consul, to found the University of France, and about the same time in far off Switzerland the man arose who more than any other has not only embodied in himself the desire of the centuries, but also carried it out in the spirit of Christ.

Pestalozzi, as we have said, represents the last and in many respects the greatest in the long struggle of humanity against the smothering spirit of asceticism. There is time for only the briefest view of this most remarkable genius. No one perhaps in all history embodied a stranger bundle of contradictions. There is no one whose projects and endeavors show so many failures, and at the same time whose very failures have afterwards become the inspiration of vaster or more promising successes. Uncouth, and entirely careless of his personal appearance, he repels the stranger and is unable to allay the prejudices of the community, yet within is a love for men,



and children in particular, that wins the hearts of the ragged and riotous little vagrants and compels from them a devotion that is almost worship for their new-found father. He is counted an ignoramus, and in many points his education is defective, while he is entirely without a philosophy; yet he is sought out by the philosopher Fichte as a particular friend from whose efforts he anticipates the regeneration of the schools of Germany. With the innocence of a child he is never able to size up the significance of the passing situation, yet with the constancy of a martyr he never loses sight of the ideal of his life which is to lead each child to a consciousness of its own dignity, and to impart to it its right to free and untrammelled progress. His schools appeared to the superficial visitor a Bedlam of confusion, yet from them went forth men who everywhere became leaders in the educational regeneration of their land; and his pupils were recognized everywhere by their capacity for work and the rapidity of their progress. He was entirely devoid of administrative ability, yet his Institute at Yverdun is the resort of pupils from all nations. And though its existence stretched over scarcely twenty years, there proceeded from it an inspiration felt throughout Europe and which still moves the world.

If we search for the reason for all this—the unifying principle of all these strange contradictions which brought out of them their significant successes,—we must find in it the full degree in which Pestalozzi possessed the mind of the Master. It was the degree to which he manifested that sweetness of mind which in Jerome was so soon overwhelmed by his dour asceticism, but which in Pestalozzi continued strong to the end.

He is the incarnation of Kant's ideal, viz., the favored one partaking of the estate of the unfortunate ones and making it his own in order to deliver them from their miseries. Nowhere is this seen more strikingly than in his treatment of the vermin-infested, ragged orphans he gathered in the Home in Stanz. He was with them all the day and put them to bed at night.



He would have no assistants for no assistant could be found capable of his supreme sacrifice.

“We wept and smiled together,” he says of these days. “We shared our food and drink. I had neither family, friends, nor servants; nothing but them. I was with them in sickness and health, and when they slept. I was the last to go to bed and the first to get up. In the bed-room I played with them, and at their own request taught them till they fell asleep.”

As a result they became so devotedly attached to him that he comes to take the place of parent in their affections. They are caught with the contagion of his devotion, so that when the town of Altdorf is burned they vote to receive a number of the homeless ones, knowing full well that their own allowances will be lessened thereby. And of another school it was said, “It is a practical school of sacrifice and renunciation.” This whelming of self in his work is one of the most characteristic traits of Pestalozzi to the end.

In the next place we perceive an abiding confidence in human nature that will not give up no matter what the discouragements. At a time when his children at Stanz embraced the most ignorant and ungrateful lot that could be imagined, he writes with a remarkable hope:

“This complete ignorance was what troubled me least, for I trusted in the natural powers that God bestows on even the poorest and most neglected children. I had observed for a long time that beneath their coarseness, shyness and apparent incapacity, are hidden the finest faculties, the most precious powers.”

The educational theory by which he would awaken and draw out these faculties and powers is no less the mind and method of the Master. Epigrammatic expressions abound on all sides in his writings:

“All the pure and beneficent powers of humanity are neither the products of art nor the results of chance. They are



really a natural possession of every man. Their development is a universal need."

"Man! in thyself, in the inward consciousness of thine own strength, is the instrument intended by nature for thy development."

"The path of nature, which develops the powers of humanity, must be easy and open to all; education which brings true wisdom and peace of mind must be simple and within everybody's reach."

The spirit at Stanz traces its origin back to the Mount of Beatitudes. It was this same return to nature on the Mount of Beatitudes as against the pedantry of the rabbinical schools that in part accounts for the exclamation of the people, "He teaches with authority," and this authority after all is nature in its ideal and broadest sense. For it is the God in nature and God in the human breast who in that great Sermon is revealed to men as the Father in heaven.

Another trait of Pestalozzi was his intensely religious nature. It was not perhaps so much after the theological definitions of that day, but vitally religious in the universal recognition of God, his Father's care, answer to prayer, and a conception of Jesus Christ which advanced in ever fuller and richer development to the end. And therefore education in his view is nothing unless it fills the field of morality and religion as well.

Pestalozzi's view of moral education and his method of attaining it is indeed a word to our own times, when so many seem to think that a text book of ethics suited to the comprehension of the various grades will meet at once one of the most crying needs of our present school system.

Morality, according to Pestalozzi, can be learned in no other way than through practice. We learn goodness by doing good. All other methods are like teaching swimming by lectures or the correspondence school. The experiences of their daily life together in the school furnished Pestalozzi with ever fresh



material for holding up to his pupils the beauty of goodness and the ugliness of vice so as to bring them to choose the one and reject the other. They even recognized the justice of their punishment—and Pestalozzi could be severe when occasion required.

Equally significant is his derivation of God-consciousness and his method of teaching religion. The recognition of God he claims grows out of the child's sense of dependence upon the mother. Therefore its development is to be watched with greatest care, in order that when the time arrives that the child begins to feel its independence of its parent, it shall be brought to recognize its need of God and to transfer its trust from the earthly to the Heavenly Father. His words on this subject and his solemn emphasis upon the high responsibility of the teacher are among the noblest of all his utterances. "Here for the first time," *i. e.*, when the child first tastes freedom as the world begins to address him, "you can no longer trust nature." "The world is now the child's mother, its sensual pleasures and proud spirit of dominion are now his God. You must preserve your child from his own blind strength, and give him such rules, principles and powers as the experience of centuries has shown us to be good."

We close with this outline sketch of Pestalozzi because we believe that in him were embodied more fully than in any other, those principles that through the Christian centuries were struggling into utterance. We go no further because the vast amount that has been accomplished since has been chiefly the development of these principles and their application to the world's varied needs.

Great advances have indeed been made. Since Pestalozzi the whole educational system of our own land has been developed in all its wonderful complexity, and has given forces for human betterment to the world. But all that has been done has been but the expanding of the corollaries flowing from the great foundation principle of Pestalozzi, a principle the origin



of which he confessed when he exclaimed, "Jesus Christ is the only Teacher."

Education is no longer a blessing for the favored ones of humanity, while the rest are permitted only enough to serve for their life of toil. It is the right and privilege of all. And our system of free schools is the answer we are giving. The little child as well as the older one must have this privilege in its fullest, richest development. And the marvellous expansion of primary education in the kindergarten (the creation of Pestalozzi's disciple Froebel) and the primary schools is another of the answers of modern educational history. As the right of all alike, it shall not be withheld from woman. And the names of Mt. Holyoke, Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, and others show that we are beginning to recognize our trust; while the advent of woman as a teacher has revealed to her some of her best talents, and man has received most efficient help in a work in which God has joined them together.

A consciousness of the sacred character of all life work as a service has adapted education more and more to the needs of life; it has opened up the fields of industrial training as a supplement to the training of the schools, and it has added the natural sciences, and given them, as well as literature, their proper place in the curriculum, while at the same time the recognition of the value of industrial and technical training has quickened the sense of the dignity of manual labor. And the rights of the physical in man to an equal recognition with the emotional, the moral and the intellectual, has raised the gymnasium, and spread out the diamond, the gridiron and the track.

But best of all of that which Christ brought to the schoolroom is the New Teacher. The man, and the woman too, who is filled with the spirit of the Great Teacher, a spirit that shrinks not from any renunciation in sympathy with all ignorance and weakness, and is willing to suffer in order that the ignorance may be enlightened and the weakness made strong,—



the man, and the woman too, who is filled with a profound sense of the teacher's responsibilities, and an equal consciousness of the teacher's high dignity and honor, and who in this consciousness counts it a privilege to be permitted to devote talents, powers and life itself to what he recognizes as one of life's most sacred callings—this is the greatest of all gifts which Jesus, the Teacher of teachers is bringing to the schoolroom.

LANCASTER, PA.



## VII.

### NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

IN CAMBRIDGE BACKS. By Mary Taylor Blauvelt. Cloth. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Pages 186. Price \$1.20 net.

The sub-title of this book tells us that these delightful essays are "the vacation thoughts of a school-mistress." They were written by her during an enforced stay at the University of Cambridge, England. Everyone of the nine chapters comprised in the volume affords readers unusually pleasant entertainment, stimulating instruction, and spiritual helpfulness. Not often does one find so choice a geniality of spirit and so rare a power of literary expression combined in an author. Throughout, the book is marked by originality and humor, deep insight and ripe wisdom, scholarly resources and sound common sense. One should be at a loss where to look for thoughts on "Friendship"—the subject of one of the chapters—quite so refreshing, suggestive and satisfactory, as those found in these pages. The chapter which discusses "The New School Mistress," abundantly justifies the unmeasured importance, the lofty ideals, and the enduring achievements which are claimed for her profession, and leads one to wish one's daughters might enjoy the uplifting benefits of coming in contact with her personality and under her instruction. The chapters dealing with "The Artist," and "The Artistic Temperament," betray the author's thorough acquaintance with the products of the Fine Arts, and with the psychological principles and qualifications needed for their creation and enjoyment. The chapters on "The Criticism of Others," and "The First Great Commandment," are rewarding studies in Moral Philosophy, whilst that on "Immortality" would do credit to any modern theologian, and, coming as it does from a non-theological source, will probably wield a wider influence in behalf of the truth. The final chapter on "The Writing of History," devoted to what one suspects is the author's professional specialty, is a brilliant and informing discussion of the subject. Had history always been written in accordance with the principles "to set forth 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,' in order that we may find in it inspiration and direction, and that a fuller knowledge of human life may make us happier, more just and more generous," the work of historians would be far more highly honored and its trustworthiness less frequently questioned. That Miss Blauvelt's illness at Cambridge prevented her from accomplishing her pro-



posed work abroad may call for one's sympathy with her in her disappointment, but in producing these rich and enriching chapters instead of her purposed work, she has placed the reading public under grateful and abiding obligations.

A. S. WEBER.

**THE GREAT PROBLEM.** By Ivan Howland Benedict. Cloth. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Pages 190. Price \$1.00 net.

It is the social problem, in some of its more important moral and spiritual aspects, that is given earnest and vigorous attention in the pages of this book. The author belongs to that large and growing number of our citizens who are gradually coming to realize that our much-vaunted material prosperity is not a sufficient ground for national glorying, and that outward brilliance and strength of civilization can not insure for us the security and permanence of our political institutions. With a forcefulness, directness and courage, born only of convinced assurance as to the truth of what is set forth, Mr. Benedict shows what perils are threatening our welfare as a nation, and points out the way that must be taken to escape the perils and to accomplish the high destiny which is providentially assigned us. His discussions of "The Kingdom," of "Social and Moral Consciousness," of "The Personal Attitude," of "The Master," and of "Saviourhood," are stimulating to thought, and highly valuable for the practical guidance of individual life and social effort. The viewpoint of these discussions is not unlike those of Rauschenbusch and Peabody, but the course pursued in arriving at his conclusions is thoroughly independent, and his prophet-like outlook cheerfully optimistic. Everybody has read the great books dealing with the social problem by the two authors just mentioned, and profited by the reading of them; but let no one suppose their treatment of the complex problem to have been too exhaustive to allow our present author to make a contribution toward its solution of real significance and importance. In my judgment he has succeeded in doing that, and to have succeeded after the others had written, must of itself be regarded a strong recommendation of its worth. Students interested in the pressing social problem of the day will want to read what this author has to say concerning them and their solution.

A. S. WEBER.

**PRESENT-DAY CONSERVATISM AND LIBERALISM.** By James Glentworth Butler, D.D. Cloth. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Pages 122. Price \$1.00 net.

In a "Foreword" to this volume its author informs us that its purpose is "to compare and contrast present-day conservatism and liberalism, to unfold these antagonistic systems of thought, and to trace their origin, basis, methods, substance, personal effects,



and final, abiding issues." The undertaking, thus indicated, is neither small nor unimportant, and to suppose that it can be accomplished "in clear, concise and comprehensive detail," within the narrow limits of a little book like this, shows with what dispatch the theological questions at issue may be settled—to the author's own satisfaction, at least, if to nobody's else. The quotation on the title-page is "significant of much" as to Dr. Butler's theological attitude in general and his views, as set forth in this book, in particular: "The disturber is always active, and his audience large. . . . The world does not belong to the disturber and his excited victims, and men of sense should say so in the open." How gladly the hide-bound ecclesiastics of the sixteenth century would have subscribed to that dictum, when Zwingli and Luther and Calvin were disturbing the peace of the established order! How enthusiastically such a pronouncement would have been hailed by the cold-hearted Anglican formalists of the eighteenth century, when Wesley and his companions began to disturb them in their slumbers of religious indifference and social unconcern! How vociferously such a sentiment would have been applauded by plutocratic combines, whose rapacity seemed to be unrestrained and to recognize no law, when within the last ten or fifteen years, in our own land, disturbing statesmen began to call them to account and to curb their ghoulish greed. No, "the world does not belong to the disturber"—that is true. But it is quite as true also, that it belongs even less to those who are suspicious of the disturber and hold themselves aloof from him. The world belongs to God, and, inspired by the wish and purpose of making it worthy of Him, the disturber has wrought and sacrificed, often suffered and died, in the pursuit of his praiseworthy aims. And how great is the world's indebtedness to the disturber for the progress that has been made along the entire course of human history, in science and art, in government and civilization, in theology and religion! Under God, we owe it to the disturber that age after age

"The old order changeth,  
Giving place to the new,  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

Among the disturbers of theological and religious thought against whom as "liberalists," our author directs his "conservative" shafts, there are those to whom some of the most important and gratifying achievements in the progress of modern thought and life must be attributed: The originators of "the modern theory of evolution," "the self-styled higher critics who are engaged in the abnormal and impious work of disintegration and mutilation of the Word of God," Ritschl, Sabatier and their followers, President Brown and Professor William Adams Brown, of



the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, Lyman Abbott, Charles Eliot, and "modernists" generally—all these receive the attention of his fine scorn and harmless strictures. One needs not to commit himself to the acceptance of all that the movements and names just mentioned stand for, without being able to hold that they represent that which in our day is making for progress in theological science, and for enlightenment and growth in religious life. A prejudiced cry of protest against this view, such as this book utters, we feel sure, cannot turn the tide of progressive thought back to its own (the book's) untenable position. The book has no vital message for the living thought of to-day, and will not receive anything like an enthusiastic reception by the religious public. Its career will be short, its influence restricted to the small circle of reactionary thinkers, and its fated neglect accepted generally, without a sense of loss or regret.

A. S. WEBER.

**THE STUNTED SAPLINGS.** By John Carleton Sherman. Boards. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Pages 50. Price \$0.60 net.

A crowded thicket of uniformly stunted saplings, among which one rises to a certain advantage of height, is here used to illustrate from a new angle, the principles of "struggle for existence," "natural selection," and "survival of the fittest." The new light thrown by the author's conception of natural method, on the success of "little" men, the breakdown of the "law" in human life, and the basis of sundry current "movements," will be cordially welcomed in certain quarters. In others it will provoke further inquiry. In both it will find interested readers.

A. S. WEBER.

**AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DR. JOHN I. SWANDER.** Supplemented with Selections of His Written Sermons Preached During His Early Ministry, together with Samples of His Philosophic, Scientific and Literary Productions, Gleaned from His Published Works, Magazine Articles, and Public Addresses Delivered on Various Occasions. With a Foreword by Rev. John S. Bowman, D.D. Published by the Publication Board of the Reformed Church, Philadelphia, Pa., 1911.

The author of this interesting volume is known throughout the length and breadth of the Reformed Church. His entire life has been devoted to her interests. With prodigal love he has lavished upon her altars the treasures of his head, his heart and his liberal hands. Various talents, that might have brought their possessor greater harvests of riches and fame, have been consecrated with signal and constant devotion to him, whom in all his labors the author magnifies as his teacher, saviour and king. His name, therefore, in the household of his faith, is the synonym of loyalty to the Reformed Church, and of deep consecration to her genius in doctrine and faith. And his brethren have publicly recognized



his piety and ability by electing him to high positions in their legislative councils and in their educational institutions, both in the west and, more recently, in the east.

They will welcome this latest volume from his facile pen as forming, in a sense, the capsheaf of a bountiful literary harvest. Dr. Swander is to-day the most prolific author in the Reformed Church. Since the foundation of the "Swander Memorial Lectures" he has enriched our theological literature annually by a solid volume crammed to the covers with transcendental pabulum, served sometimes in prose and sometimes in piquant poetry. And previous to the beginning of that annual series his pen did not rust in idleness. His "Text-book on Sound" won the author international recognition, a gold medal, and membership in the London Society of Art, Science, and Literature. His published works on "The Substantial Philosophy," "The Invisible World," and "The Reformed Church" embodied the fruits of his arduous labor in the spheres of philosophy, theology and history. Added to this were the obiter dicta spoken, on various occasions, to scientists, philosophers, students, soldiers, veterans, churches and cities, and printed in papers and magazines.

This present volume is a compendious index of the labors of its distinguished author. The main title, "Autobiography," does not cover its contents. The reader of this review must consult the various sub-titles for a key to its riches. The autobiography is simply the portal through which the reader steps into a busy world. Following the example of Max Mueller, Dr. Swander might suitably have called his book, "Chips from an American Workshop." That would describe the main body of the book in which we find characteristic samples gleaned by the author from his published works. The very nature of this book makes a detailed review of its contents impracticable, if not impossible. But this fragmentary character attaches only to the outward form, and is not at all inconsistent with the higher unity of thought and purpose which gives the many parts their cohesion and consistency. Through all these utterances runs the twin thread of loyalty to Jesus Christ, and of an intense faith in those invisible forces and entities which he has brought to light.

In the first chapter we have an interesting sketch of the Swander family. Speaking of his ancestors, the author informs us that, "it was the most sacred article of their domestic creed that the amen of marriage is always a baby." Thus, with delightful humor, we are introduced to the sturdy Swiss ancestry of the Swanders, enriched, in the author's case, by the Scotch-Irish strain that came from his mother's side. With fine chivalry Dr. Swander speaks of his marriage as the most important event in his history, and pays a beautiful tribute of affection to his wife, who still shares with him the riches and joys of life's Indian sum-



mer. These autobiographical notes will be read with interest by all who know the author. They show us the rock whence he was hewn.

The second chapter contains sermons. They revolve about the divine Christ. It is paying them a just tribute to say that they contain the elements of true nobility mentioned by the author in his "Farewell Address to his Children." They are simple and purely religious. They do not mistake theology for religion, nor do they offer philosophical abstractions to souls crying for bread. In this respect they may serve as models for modern preachers. The next chapter is filled with theological excerpts from many writings. Their conspicuous merit is that they deal intelligently with the objective truths of our religion. The first one is entitled "Ontologic," and that describes the nature of all the rest. Here again the author deserves the most careful attention of those moderns who seem to resolve the objective verities of religion into subjective states of consciousness.

The closing chapter is a miscellany, containing extracts from philosophical books, popular addresses, sermons, etc. The "Farewell Address to the World" on the last page, reminds the reader that the venerable author has lived and labored many years, and is no longer a youth, though his work shows no signs of abating vigor. May it be many years ere (to quote the author) "The Scribe of no renown, lays his last lay unlaureled down."

THEO. F. HERMAN.

**THE AUTHORITY OF MIGHT AND RIGHT.** By A. v. C. P. Huizinga. Cloth. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Pages 40. Price \$0.50 net.

A philosophic mind has attempted an answer in these pages to the oft-recurring question, whether in the struggles of life with individuals and with nations, might is right, or right is might. The author has large resources of learning at his command, and calls them freely into requisition to illustrate, confirm and enforce his contentions. His little book is sober in wisdom, stimulating in thought, and practical in message. It repays for whatever of time and money may be spent on it.

A. S. WEBER.

**TRUTH AND REALITY—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.** By John Elof Boodin, Professor of Philosophy, University of Kansas. New York, The Macmillan Company. Pages x + 334. Price \$1.75 net.

This book is an important contribution to the pragmatic literature of the day; but is also what it professes to be, an introduction to the theory of knowledge. From either point of view it is a strong presentation of its subject, and it is written in such a genial spirit that it can not fail to enlist the attention and sympathy of the reader. The author, a native of Sweden, a pupil



and friend of Professor William James, is a clear thinker and gives abundant evidence of wide reading and philosophic insight. He writes, of course, as a pragmatist, and from the standpoint of the practical or pragmatic realist; but he avoids the extreme positions taken by many so-called pragmatic philosophers, sees the strong points of other systems, and presents his own conception of truth and reality with great force and clearness. Taking this book in connection with Professor James Bissett Pratt's "What is Pragmatism?" one has an admirable presentation of the new philosophy, *pro et contra*, with the elimination of a good deal of the smoke and dust engendered in the controversy concerning it.

By way of introduction the author makes a strong plea for philosophic tolerance, believing that "truth is at best experimental, and nothing can be more fatal than stopping the experiment. The most that will be said of any of us in the ages to come is: Yes, he saw a phase of the problem; or he proved suggestive in the infancy of the science." True to the requirement of this plea he writes with clear insight as well as gentle sympathy, with keen power of analysis as well as whimsical humor, and there is not a dull page or far-fetched argument in the book.

Beginning with an evolutionary process of fundamental adjustments, the author insists that from the standpoint of individual development all these adjustments are instinctive or organic, and that the stimuli which constitute the environment, are simply the occasion for calling into play the structural tendencies of the organic growth series, and along the whole line function waits upon organization or the psychological process upon biological structure. While progress in the latter is gradual and continuous, in the former it is discontinuous or goes by leaps and starts. Given the structural conditions for sight, light leaps into being; with the mechanism of the ear we have the wondrous world of sound. Sensationalism and associationalism are accordingly found inadequate to account for the higher functions of mind, and we must recognize three dramatic stages: First, sensitiveness or immediate consciousness; secondly, associative memory and expectancy; thirdly, reflection. Each of these is equally organic and abrupt; it depends on a structural series provided first by heredity and developed by the proper stimuli, and it comes to view at the proper time when the structural series is ripe for it. Of course, they all work together, the higher depending upon the lower until we come to the level of ideals or sentiments and the formulation of truth.

In the second part the author takes up the nature of truth, and discusses, in order, the truth process, the morphology of truth, the content of truth, and the postulates of truth. Truth, the author contends, is the product of the thought process; it is created rather than discovered, although it must in the nature of the case be based on objective reality. It is tentatively defined as consisting



in "the differences which objects make to the reflective conduct of human nature, as in its evolutionary process it attempts to control and understand its world. In this definition, however, the word conduct has a wider meaning than that given it by C. S. Peirce, James, Schiller and Dewey; it means not simply experimental verification, or, biologically, the attainment of certain goods on the part of the organism. "Truth must be measured in terms of the reflective procedure of our entire human nature in realizing its tendencies, formal or practical." Farther on truth is defined as "systematic meaning, systematic experience about the object," or "systematic meaning, corrected and completed in its intended reality." The two points insisted on are, first, that there must be a definite "leading" towards an outcome which is, in the broad sense, practical, and, secondly, that an idea or hypothesis is not true until it has been verified. The author concedes, however, that truth may be forced upon us instead of our seeking the outcome, and that it does not require individual verification to be true, if once authenticated, "whether to God, or man, or a monkey," it is truth and may be accepted as such.

Parts III. and IV. treat, respectively, of the criterion of truth and truth and its object. The treatment includes a discussion of what pragmatism is and is not, which, to say the least, is temperate and illuminating. The author frankly accepts the statement that truth must correspond to or agree with reality, and dismisses the foolish argument that such agreement implies a copying by the mind in the form of an image. His doctrine is that of pragmatic realism. He insists that all truths must work, so as to verify or validate themselves, and thus apparently leaves no room for truths which are self-evident and need no verification.

The teleological criterion of being, the author thinks, applies also to the religious environment. As the mind has constructed for itself and projected a world of ideas in order to meet its environment, inorganic, organic, and supra-organic or psychic, "each of which grades of environment has proven its reality by the necessity of adjusting ourselves to it in order for the highest well-being," so "the soul of man has built itself nobler mansions, has constructed the ideal world of religion, even as the swallow builds herself a nest in order to feel cozier and more at home in an otherwise cold world." But the same criterion must be applied here as to all other kinds of environment. Showing that other forms of religion are not "practical," the case requires a personal God, a God of righteousness, and Christianity, a kingdom that is not of this world. "Christianity is the highest religion to us because it, as no other, furnishes, in the simplest and completest way, that environment of the soul which satisfies and makes objective its yearning for the highest good. And inasmuch as the personality of Jesus answers all our demands for personal goodness, as no



other historic individual does—fulfills them not only relatively but completely—we must acknowledge him as divine in a unique way.”

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE FUTURE. By S. S. Hebbard. Maspeth Publishing House, 77 Milton St., Borough of Queens, New York. Pages iv + 210. Price \$1.50.

Here, at last, is a philosophical Daniel come to judgment! The author of this book says pathetically in the preface: “This book has cost me more than half a century of toil and the loss of most things that men chiefly desire. And it is still very imperfect. How, indeed, could it be otheriwise, since I have had to cut my way through a wilderness, aided only by the errors of those who have preceded me?” It may be granted that the book gives abundant evidence of toil and trouble, of wide reading, and, at times, of critical power. But the author takes himself much too seriously. The claim to have demolished the arguments and exposed the fallacies of all the great philosophers from Pythagoras and the early Greeks down to Lotze and Bradley and James, and to have laid a sure foundation for the philosophy of the future by the discovery of one simple principle is, to use a modern phrase, a pretty large proposition. More argument and less assertion would have secured greater attention.

The principle of the proposed new philosophy is this: “The sole, essential function of all thinking, as contrasted with feeling, is to discriminate between cause and effect.” This is followed by the corollary that “*a cause cannot be known except through its effects, nor an effect apart from its cause.*” The author describes thought or reason of the Kantian order as a mere medley of innate ideas, or *a-priorities*, flung together at random, no one knows how, whence, or why—having no object except to engender false appearances. Such thought makes room for relativity. But if the function of thinking is to discriminate between cause and effect, the question of relativity becomes simply ridiculous, and knowledge is not merely relative. The author, correctly we think, assumes that causality means more than mere sequence; but he goes on to make it primary and fundamental in every other relation, and thus claims to solve all the difficulties involved in the relation between substance and attribute, the antinomies of space and time, etc., and leads on to the formulation of a “new realism.”

The author next discusses the concept and the judgment, and leads to the startling conclusion that the primary and fundamental form of all reasoning is induction, deduction being only a variety or subordinate form of the same process. Considering the arguments for the existence of God, he thinks the only one of value is that of causation; to cancel this is to cancel all thinking,



involves the extinction of thought. He has only to show, then, *that the conception of a sufficient cause, fully understood, is identical with the theistic conception of God.* In the same way he demonstrates the existence of the soul and its immortality—a process so simple and conclusions so restful and satisfying, that one cannot help wishing it might all be true.

JOHN S. STAHR.

HISTORY OF THE WESTERN SALISBURY CHURCH (LUTHERAN AND REFORMED), LEHIGH COUNTY, PA. Prepared and arranged by Tilghman Neimeyer, Rev. John B. Stoudt, Rev. Myron O. Rath, Jacob Reinhard, Marcus J. Kemenerer. Pages 283. Price \$1.50. May be had of Tilghman Neimeyer, Emaus, Pa.

On the third of September, 1911, the Jerusalem or Western Salisbury Union Church (Reformed and Lutheran) celebrated the 170th anniversary of the building of the first house of worship at this historic spot. In anticipation of the event and as a part of the celebration the committee named above prepared an interesting and valuable volume containing the history of the two congregations, with complete records of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and burials, and full lists of all the members. The work is well done, and the book is a handsome volume, worthy of this historic church, and a credit to its authors.

The history of the Reformed Church was prepared by the Rev. John Baer Stoudt, a former pastor, and that of the Lutheran Church by the present pastor, the Rev. Myron O. Rath. These sketches are not only interesting and important for the respective congregations, but they also carry with them a much wider significance. The authors have gone very carefully over the whole ground, guided by the instinct of the historian; they have sifted tradition, searched the records, and examined documentary evidence wherever it was available; and they have succeeded in producing a work of permanent value. Much light is thrown on the condition of the early settlers and their spiritual destitution, the so-called "Moravian episode" and unionistic efforts, the labors of Muhlenberg and Schlatter, and the gradual development of the Lutheran and Reformed communions in the face of great difficulties. The successive pastorates are described with a good deal of minuteness down to the present time, and the history may safely be commended as worthy of careful and appreciative study.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL. A Restatement of Christianity in Terms of Modern Thought. By Rev. J. J. Lanier, B.D. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1911. Pages 264. Price \$1.25 net.

This volume contains the second series of the Reinicker Lectures, delivered in 1910 at the Virginia Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It belongs primarily to the



inner household of the author's faith, and it has a message for them which is both "noble in its ideals and novel in its treatment of them." It is a new apologetic of things fundamental to Churchmen, based upon their spiritual value rather than upon fictitious authority. This method characterizes the three parts of the book which deal, respectively, with *The Church Universal*, *The Sacramental System of the Christian Church*, and *Lectures on the Catechism*. It lends to the convictions of the author a winsome catholicity and a "sweet reasonableness" which will have the admiration and approval of many not of his fold.

But it must be confessed that the sub-title of the book is misleading. "A restatement of Christianity in terms of modern thought" arouses expectations which are not fulfilled by the author. One should scarcely call it "modern" to accept the Apostolic and Nicene creeds as coördinate sources of Christian belief. Thus, it may well be that Anglican high Churchmen will criticize the book for its liberal spirit, while liberal Christians will fail to see in its pages "the terms of modern thought."

Nevertheless, the volume represents a splendid effort to popularize theology. Though dissenting from some of its conclusions, one must appreciate and commend the clarity of its style, the force of its many illustrations, and the catholic spirit of its author.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

**AND THEN?** (German title: *Und dann?*) Ten biblical essays on eschatological themes by Paul Blau, General Superintendent of Prussian Poland. Trowitzsch & Son, Berlin, Wilhelm Str. 29. Pages 125. Price Mk. 2.

**IS CHRISTIANITY AS A RELIGION SURPASSABLE?** (German title: *Ist das Christentum als Religion überbietbar?*) By Dr. Wilhelm Ernst, pastor in Enzheim. Trowitzsch & Son, Berlin, Wilhelm Str. 29. Pages 43. Price Mk. 0.75.

These two attractive brochures are good specimens of a class of literature that is typical of Germany. It consists of compendious, inexpensive, paper-bound treatises on questions of theology, philosophy, science, art, sociology and kindred topics. They are written, sometimes by academic teachers of world-wide reputation, but more often by professional men in the various walks of life. A very large number of men, with cultured minds and facile pens, is thus constantly engaged. And their annual output constitutes an interesting and valuable feature of the German book market.

The books under review were both written by active clergymen of the German Church. While the topics which they discuss are theological, their style is simple and clear. The one entitled, "And then?" is homiletic in form and didactic in purpose. It raises those last questions which are of perennial interest to the human heart. Is there a Hereafter, The Riddle of Death, The



Secret of Life, The Resurrection of the Dead, Condemnation or Restitution, Between Two Worlds, are some of the topics discussed. The author succeeds well in avoiding both the vapid sentimentalism and the narrow dogmatism that so often spoil the treatment of Last Things. Read as essays, his sermons are instructive; and regarded as sermons, his essays are edifying. The author devotes his last chapter to a discussion of the resurrection of Christ, in which he presents all the well-known arguments for the historicity of the physical resurrection.

The other book bears a thoroughly modern title. The question concerning the ultimate and final character of Christianity is strictly *fin-de-siecle*. It was raised in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and has become the center of an absorbing controversy. The author of this little brochure does not debate the question whether Christianity, in its historic form, is the ultimate religion of humanity; nor does he institute a comparison between Christianity and other historic religions. He wishes to show the vital difference between Christianity and certain tendencies which claim to be the modern equivalent of, and which aim to become a universal substitute for, the Christian religion. These scientific, philosophical, and socialistic tendencies the author subjects to a searching criticism, which does full justice to their proper worth, while, at the same time, it rejects their unwarranted pretension to constitute the "religion" of the modern man. As compared with these pseudo-religions, the superiority of Christianity consists in the fourfold fact that, as a religion, it is genuine, redemptive, ethical, and social. Sympathetic knowledge of modern life coupled with an abiding faith in the Christian religion give this little volume a tonic quality. It confirms one's inmost conviction that Jesus Christ has put mankind into vital contact with the ultimate reality of the universe. In the Gospel we have finalities which science, philosophy, and socialism must interpret and apply. But none of these modern movements can offer the questing world an acceptable substitute for the Gospel.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

**THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH.** By Charles E. Jefferson, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1910. Pages 306. Price \$1.25 net.

Dr. Jefferson belongs to the Church Universal. He is one of the greatest moral and spiritual forces in America. With his prophetic voice he helps to direct into deeper and purer channels the human maelstrom that surges against the Tabernacle on Broadway, and through his magnetic pen he helps to mould the higher life of two continents. His many books are deservedly popular. And this latest fruit of his study will easily rank as one of the ripest and best. It possesses all the qualities which



have made his former writings notable contributions to our religious literature—charm of expression, warmth of feelings, high idealism, rich common sense, and logical unity.

The volume under review contains the lectures delivered before the Divinity School of Yale University, in 1910, on the Lyman Beecher Foundation. The sovereign interest to whose promotion this lectureship is devoted is the work of preaching. In the past some of our most illustrious pulpit teachers have lectured on this celebrated foundation, whose printed utterances have become American classics on the art of preaching. Therefore, the reader approaches every fresh volume with high expectations. In this instance, they are fully met. The author himself is, primarily, a gifted preacher. And what he practices so successfully as an art, he describes and discusses in these fascinating pages as a science, which less gifted men may cultivate and measurably acquire.

THEO. F. HERMAN.



# THE REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

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## I.

### NIETZSCHE AND THE GREAT PROBLEMS OF MODERN THOUGHT.

R. C. SCHIEDT.

Of the five great minds which in my judgment have most profoundly touched modern problems of thought and life, one represents England—"the last Englishman of heroic measures"—John Ruskin; one the United States—William James, the pragmatic philosopher; one Russia—Dostojewsky, the novelist; one Norway—Henrik Ibsen, the dramatist, and one Germany—Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, the poet-philosopher. All five have joined the great silent majority, but their influence is still strongly upon us, especially that of Nietzsche.

The influence which a man exercises over his age is in exact proportion to the influence which the age has gained over the man. Only in so far as the individual embodies the propelling forces of his times within himself is he able to advance the thoughts of his fellows and to become an example of light and leading to his contemporaries. There are, to be sure, men who came too early for their age; they helped to prepare a way for the future while their own age passed over them. Nietzsche is considered by the greatest of his admirers



as out of season, as a man for whose greatness the present has not yet found the right measure and correct appreciation, while his opponents claim that even during his lifetime he belonged to a dead past, because he only served up old follies with new spicy side dishes to a society of superficial culture.

In contradistinction to these opposite conceptions it shall be my aim to present Nietzsche as the most striking representative of our age, in whom its innermost and peculiar life is most faithfully and truly reflected, who is its most characteristic illustration. Our age seems in conflict with its innermost nature and unable to produce uniform, harmonious characters. This conflict is the same in all the varied phenomena which are the result of the antagonism between the individual and society. Society has ever endeavored to create barriers and prescribe certain definite rules and regulations binding to all alike, while to the strong personality these forms have ever been the prison bars against which he railed. Especially since the days of the Renaissance the historical development of the most advanced nations has ever and anon culminated in the hidden or open combat between the individual and the social order. Our age in particular has become the battlefield par excellence in which all the furies of this great struggle seem to have met.

In the political arena it is socialism with its insistence on an equal chance for everybody; in the sphere of art, as for instance in the modern drama, personality is emphasized over against mere ideas, the concrete individual man triumphs over abstract social ideas. From Zola to Hauptmann, Strindberg and Shaw, from the poets of social dependence to those of the absolute sovereignty of the individual there is but a short step in time, and it is *our* time, and above them all towers the greatest of modern dramatists, the dramatist of the great interrogation point of human life, Henrik Ibsen. He also represents personality in its struggle against tradition, the ego against the species, but the ego is not yet anarchistic enough to burn all the bridges behind itself and declare itself the only



sovereign, and the conflict remains a problem, but a problem of terrible agonies. And what is true of poetry is true of painting. The artist with the modern eye and the modern heart has again become a personality. It is the individual man as his heart sees him that is fashioned in color or in marble, it is the loneliness of nature not its gigantic generalities, which is put on the canvas; it is Victor Hugo by Rodin or Beethoven by Klinger which represent individual problems. Likewise our philosophy has become problematic. The inquiry into the theoretical truth of philosophy, which the contrast between sensualism and idealism had turned into theoretical scepticism, has changed into pragmatism in modern times or into the much more difficult inquiry into the ethical values of life, since Kant made practical reason or, the will, the center of all philosophical thinking. But the force of the categorical imperative of Kant no longer exists for individual man has begun to set aside ancient values and to ask afresh what the world is to be to him and to his personal, individual existence. The values of life have therefore also become problematic.

And why should not the religious life of our age show a similar condition. The conflict between the individual and society is here spiritualized into the conflict between the traditional idea of God and individual, human convictions and feelings. The modern Prometheus hurls his lightning towards heaven, he bases his life upon himself. It is no longer God who created man in his own image but it is man who creates God in his own image, the image of a human personality. The struggles of the modern man with traditional theology are now fought out in the public arena of journalism, and now and far more profoundly in the individual soul. The old riddle of the Sphinx confronts with renewed vigor the present generation of men. The tragedy of *Œdipus* is repeating itself. In this individualism we have the whole program of Friedrich Nietzsche. All the individualistic tendencies of our age in art and science, in religion and morals, in state and society are comprehended in this one name. Nietzsche is



therefore more than a mere name, he is a system of thought, a "Weltanschauung," an intellectual power, with whom every one must reckon who lives and labors with the age and endeavors to maintain his own position. And just because individualism is the offspring of the life of the age, it has its own prerogatives and its truths will be absorbed by the consciousness of the age.

But Nietzsche represents only one side of the age, not the whole of it. If Nietzsche is negative the age as a whole is never negative or decadent, it is always and under all conditions the positive life in its ever upward and rejuvenating course. The very decay of culture furnishes food stuffs for a new and stronger soil which will produce a richer harvest afterward. Emphasizing this complimentary side of life over against that represented by Nietzsche we assign the truth of Nietzsche's position, its proper place in the evolution of the race.

The course of history is like the winding paths leading up steep mountain sides, they show the wanderer on many a turning point the same scenery only from greater heights. We have at present reached a station directly above one of the great turning points in history, commonly called the Renaissance. If Nietzsche is a true representative of our age he cannot occupy an isolated position, he must have had fore-runners who show his physiognomy in their aims and purposes, critical natures, at war with their contemporaries but lights and leaders for subsequent epochs.

The climax of antique culture was the age of Perikles in which there seemed to have been reached the zenith of the most perfect development in art and science, which gloried in the highest type of free citizenship. But only a few decades pass and the most celebrated heralds of wisdom are no longer the preachers of enjoyment and beauty, rather the cynics who bitterly bewail the degeneracy of the times. Diogenes who had learned from the dogs contentment with little, thought himself in his cask richer than Alexander—and philosophy



turned from ideas to deeds. Then occurred the first revaluation or better, reversion of all values in history more radical than any subsequent one. When Diogenes wanders with his burning lantern in bright daylight through the streets of Athens and tells his questioners that he is looking for a man, we want to teach his contemporaries a higher idea of human character, because the Athenians with all their philosophy and all their art had not learned the one important lesson how to live the true, wholesome life of man. It was a protest against the unreality, the cultural lies of his time, it ushered in the new philosophy of individualism according to which the individual man feels the want and desire to live his own life apart from the "*οἱ πολλοί*." But the cynics themselves experienced the fate of all those who seek originality at the expense of others—they became the victims of that pride which seeks its own self-glorification in the brutal emphasis of their grotesque oddities. But the truth underlying the philosophy of cynicism over against the magnificence and beauty of classic culture has never disappeared from history. It confronts us in the asceticism of the early Christian era in its struggle against the debauchery of Roman imperialism and again in Dante's emphasis of personal usefulness over against ecclesiastical holiness, so thoroughly endorsed and exploited by the master essayist of the sixteenth century, Michel de Montaigne, Nietzsche's great teacher and exemplar, of whom he says, that he made life on this earth worth while. Another great turning point in history is the French Revolution, when the individual of the Renaissance is declared as the general principle of political and social life, assuring every man in the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity of his prerogatives as an individuality. But in order to realize this prerogative life must be viewed from a different basis and it is just this quarrel as to what the basis shall be which constitutes the philosophical controversies of modern times. Some said a hundred years ago a new ego must be created in man before he can be educated to a new self, they advocated a rejuvenation of the in-



dividual through the forces of the national or social idea. The selfish man had become the curse of humanity, fulfilled in the fiasco of old Europe under the arch egotist Napoleon. The new education can no longer be caste education but must be universal, popular education; the elements of humanity must be discovered in every human countenance. Others said the very opposite, viz., that egotism is the last and truest solution of all human problems, for as long as man places any cause or idea as, *e. g.*, liberty, the state, society or humanity above his own personality so long is he dependent and not his own. Not freedom but possession of one's self is the aim. The former were taught by the transcendentalists the latter by the theoretical anarchists of the Max Stirner school, which finds its echo in such writings as Emerson's *Representative Men* and has reached its climax in our modern apotheosis of the individual and the ego-cult. Nietzsche is only the result of this struggle, the most consistent individualist and iconoclast, uniting within himself all the former varieties from Diogenes to Stirner, although he is far beyond any of them.

These preliminary remarks are to serve a two-fold purpose. In the first place they are to show that Nietzsche's teachings are not brand new; neither a sudden revelation from heaven, nor an illusion from hell, but merely a return of an old phenomenon. In the second place, Nietzsche becomes the more significant, if he stands before us as the logical embodiment of our modern civilization. It is our duty to define our relation to him because his name includes a good portion of present-day history.

In order to understand Nietzsche's problems we must know *his personality*. Lack of space forbids details. He was born on the 15th of October, 1844, at Röcken, near Weissenfels, my own home, in Thuringia, where his father was pastor of the village church. Five generations of noted preachers preceded him on his father's side and his mother was likewise the daughter of a well-known Protestant minister of the State



Church. Father Nietzsche died from injuries sustained in a fall when the boy was but five years old, so that his education was entirely conducted by women. The family was of intense aristocratic caste, conservative in politics and religion and anxious that young Nietzsche should also become a minister of the gospel. The boy was rather precocious, particularly in music, discussing and playing the symphonies of Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, etc., when he was but twelve years old. As a student at the renowned gymnasium of Schul Pforta he distinguished himself especially in Greek and the general literary and philosophical branches while he was utterly indifferent to mathematics and the sciences. Physically, as I remember him, he was of striking appearance, over six feet tall, with intensely penetrating eyes and naturally fond of sports. But his most potent characteristic was his strong subjectivism, his will to rule. He chafed under the iron discipline of the gymnasium and hated its hide-bound rules and regulations. He, therefore, spent then already a good deal of his time in philosophical meditations and musical extravaganzas of his own and of Richard Wagner with a few chosen friends, read Plato, Æschylos, Hölderlin and especially Emerson, whose *Representative Men* attracted him very early. And as he chafed under the laws of the school system so also under those of the church. The pious boy who had reveled in spiritual feasts, written religious poems and made propaganda for foreign missions, became a sceptic, or as he puts it, he turned from a believer into a searcher after truth. When he, therefore, entered the university of Bonn in 1864, he indeed matriculated as a student of theology and philology but dropped the former in his second semester and confined himself to philology and philosophy. He became the most distinguished student in his department and the most forceful personality in his fraternity, the Burschenschaft Frankonia, to which Schurz had belonged. An expert swimmer, horseman, shot and swordsman, he necessarily emphasizes his domineering will to rule by his accomplishments. But his aversion to



all forms of debauchery and excesses of drinking and smoking suddenly terminated his relation to the fraternity and the university and he followed his beloved professor Ritschl to Leipzig, where henceforth he devoted himself to research in classic philology and philosophy. He was never a student of the bookworm type, taking more interest in the form of lectures than in the contents, learning more how to teach than how to study and therefore often neglecting the lectures themselves. Here he studied Schopenhauer and met Wagner, developed the passion for self-knowledge and self-analysis and earned university prizes and renown for prize essays and published addresses on classic subjects. When but twenty-four years of age, Professor Ritschl recommended him to the professorship of Greek at the university of Basel to which he was called in 1868, although he had not even passed the necessary "examen rigorosum," an unheard-of procedure. In the meantime he had also served his year in the artillery of the German army, where his health was shattered through a serious fall from a horse, but in 1870, although a citizen of Switzerland, he entered the Red Cross organization to serve his fatherland in the war against France. The result was the beginning of the chronic illness which filled his whole life and laid the foundations to his final paralysis. Only ten years of teaching was granted him at Basel when his chronic sleeplessness, poor eyesight and dyspepsia forced him to resign. During these ten years he had, however, accomplished an enormous amount of work, lecturing not only to the university students but also to those in the upper classes of the gymnasium. He had enjoyed the close fellowship of Richard Wagner and his family, who lived at Tribschen, near Lucerne, published his epoch-making work, *Tragedy, the Offspring of Music*, his *Thoughts out of Season* and after the break with Wagner, his *Human, All too Human*. Afterwards he became a wanderer, living now on the Riviera now in the Engadin and again in Italy, especially in Venice, Genoa and Turin. In 1879 and 1880 the second volume of his *Human, All too Human* ap-



peared and *The Wanderer and His Shadow*, while the years from 1882 to 1888 are spent in the preparation of *Joyous Wisdom*, *Thus spake Zarathustra*, *Beyond Good and Evil*, *Regarding the Genealogy of Morals* and finally in 1888 *The Case of Wagner*, *The Idol's Dawn* and *The Antichrist*, an attempt of a revaluation of all values. Then followed his final paralysis, which ended his life in 1900 in the city of Weimar, where he had lived under the care of his faithful sister, Frau Elisabeth Nietzsche-Förster. He lies buried at his birthplace, aside of his parents.

Nietzsche is only intelligible as a personality. He knows no ideas which are above him or govern him from without, he only knows himself as the bearer of such ideas, therefore, his aim is to live his own life as a writer and as a poet-philosopher, love to the utmost and hate to the utmost. This is his honesty, to which he grants the first prize among all the virtues, which does not palm off anything foreign as its own nor cowardly or modestly keeps back anything of its own.

The style is the man and Nietzsche's whole self is expressed in his style. His words are like Chopin's music, of resplendent clearness and yet just as impenetrable in this very splendor. They are like the polished diamond, reflecting light in all its prismatic wealth, they are of an enticing sensuality, of a rhythm charming in its very discords and extravaganzas, full of sympathetic tones even in separate notes. Nietzsche's prose itself is poetry, every syllable an echo from the inmost human heart, joyful and sorrowful like love itself, containing in every word and sentence a flood of sensations, which now waft about us like hot glowing lava and now make our blood run cold with the coldness of mockery and abject contempt, in one word Nietzsche is Germany's most brilliant stylist.

And because all thoughts of Nietzsche are personal thoughts, they are at the same time his inmost experiences. While other profound thinkers constantly labor on the correction of errors and the maturing of their ideas, with Nietzsche all such processes involve the self, not merely a correction of errors,



but an overcoming of self, with every new thought he thinks he outlives himself, and because every yea has its corresponding nay, he says of himself "There is something unquenched and unquenchable within me." And his *Ecce homo* is he himself.

"Ja ich weiss woher ich stamme!  
 Ungesättigt gleich der Flamme  
 Glühe und verzehr ich mich!  
 Licht wird alles was ich fasse,  
 Kohle alles was ich lasse,  
 Flamme bin ich sicherlich!"

But even in this eternal contradiction, this eternal moulting, this dialectic process of his own personality there is an inner unity, a hidden fundamental force at work, it is the passionate affirmation of life, which constantly rejects the lifeless, which manifests its hope in the effort to maintain itself in the very act of outliving itself. And it is just this struggle which makes Nietzsche's personality so singular, so overwhelmingly tragic that he had to wrest every yea he uttered for life at every moment from himself until the growing tyranny of his suffering, after a last most exasperating exertion, gained the mastery. The greater his pain the more powerful his will to down it. Thus alone can we explain the growing brutality of the author's words as compared with the gentle, modest, bashful and ever grateful man; the same contradiction appears when the author sings the most touching hymns glorifying life while the man longs for death as a relief from torment. In 1880, he writes, "A heavy burden rests upon me. I had 118 serious attacks during the last year. I lived but without seeing one step ahead of me. O, what terrible years, what torments, what icy changes and disgusts of life!"

We must separate the inquiry into the actual values of Nietzsche's work from that of his personality. The most unrelenting criticism cannot extinguish the charm of personality, of the man in Nietzsche, who considered it his life work to be true to himself and only himself to the last drop of blood, but also a fighter to the last.



Three phases are generally distinguished in Nietzsche's life, the *æsthetic*, the *intellectual* and the *voluntaristic*: during the first Nietzsche's interest is concentrated in art, during the second in knowledge, during the third in the will to prove all three are in reality unified in the aims of the man. This aim is the solution of the cultural problem or more exactly the creation of a new and higher culture. To elevate man to a higher level of existence, to lift up the type "man," that is the great problem of Nietzsche's life work, not exactly in the Darwinian sense of evolution, for he knew little about that and never inquired into origins, but rather in a philosophical way by dealing with problems. We may therefore treat his work under a number of heads as so many problems. The American mind does not quite appreciate the significance of living problems, because life is so much easier with us than in Europe; we are much more optimistic; for this reason we have no great dramatic creations, no tragic art and our philosophy is the philosophy of efficiency, culminating in the behest: "Work and thou shalt be happy." Nietzsche is, therefore, not taken quite seriously enough with us, but I shall endeavor to show that the problems he discussed will sooner or later confront us also. First of all will this be the case with the *problem of art*.

We have in our age not only conflicts in religion and politics but also in art. John Ruskin's name reminds us that they have permeated all strata of human society. But they began with the controversies for and against Wagner and finally involved all our so-called "Welt- und Lebensanschauungen," *i. e.*, our fundamental views of life and the world. The conflicts do not touch the mission of art so much as they do the essence of art and its relation to real life both in its intellectual aspects and in its practical influences. To answer this question satisfactorily one must be both artist and philosopher. Here lies the dramatic element in the friendship between Wagner and Nietzsche who both meet this requirement. The one is an artist who interprets the ultimate ques-



tions in his art sphere in philosophical tones, and the other a philosopher who was a born musician and whose poetic soul transforms all the inflexible thought material of the human mind into a song. Both started with Schopenhauer, who assigns to music the first place among the arts and calls it "the pure revelation of the metaphysical essence of the world, the will in tones," and both were filled with the spirit of the Renaissance. So close is this parallelism in their æsthetic views that the two chief æsthetic works of the two men, the *Opera and Drama* on the one hand and *Tragedy, the Offspring of Music* on the other hand are mutually exchangeable. Both represent one problem of art. Wagner very beautifully shows that man in his dramatic motions and emotions is the eternal model for all plastic art and that the expression of these emotions in sounds and sentences represents the poetic art, both forming one complementary harmony, one art with two art impulses originating in the same life, embodying it and creating it anew.

For these two fundamental impulses Nietzsche has coined the terms of Dionysiac and Apollonian. The one is derived from Dionysos, the Greek god of the vital forces of nature, who presides over the germinating seeds, the budding trees and all the productive and reproductive mysteries of nature. Dionysos is to Nietzsche what he was to the early Greeks, the god who fills men's hearts with gladness when they come in touch with the exuberant powers of nature, the intoxicating wine. The other is derived from Phœbus Apollo, the god of poetry and eloquence, of song and music, who awakens through dreams the formative and coördinative faculties of man and turns him into a new being. The Dionysiac impulse belongs to the many, the Apollonian to the few who put into concrete form what they have seen in their dreams composing epics or producing music. But they belong together. Nietzsche for the first time showed that under these two influences, the Apollonian or creative and the Dionysiac or enjoying and receptive impulse there arose in early Hellas lyric, epic, drama



and the audience fit and eager to listen to poet and dramatist. Here he finds the origin of Greek tragedy, the dreamer transforms the intoxicating impulse into an image, the divine image of Dionysos, whose life and sufferings constitute, under many different names, the original and eternal themes of Greek tragedy. Among the barbarians from Rome to Babylon the Dionysiac cult was grotesque and beastly while the Greek introduction of the proud figure of Apollo turns Bacchantian hilarity into the great redemptive world festivals. The Dionysiac scream of horror and the longing plaintive wail over some irretrievable loss acted by the chorus, representing Dionysos himself, reveal the abysses of the primitive human soul, the whole inferno of life in nature, while the formative Apollonian art produces out of the harmony of melody, out of tones the drama, the æsthetic image of life. In the course of time the drama, originally purely musical, is transformed into the spoken play and rules and regulations transfer the purely artistic to the sphere of the intellect. The drama degenerates and dies. The theoretical man arises: Socrates, the forerunner of a new culture, emphasizing knowledge as the highest accomplishment and virtue. The rules of logic introduced into the Greek world of spirit kill the true dramatic art. Socratism reaches its highest development in the Alexandrian school of philosophy, and Alexandrianism, the triumph of reason, became the grave of all art.

Nietzsche comes to the rescue and points to German philosophy and German music, to Schopenhauer and Wagner, both originating in Dionysiac sources as a new culture of a new age. What he means by the Dionysiac, the Apollonian and the Alexandrian type of art is illustrated by Wagner's *Meistersinger*, where all three types are represented. Walter von Stolzing, the Frankonian knight, is the Dionysiac singer, who has learned his singing in forest and meadow, in icy winter's blasts and in spring's reviving storms. Love overwhelms him and creates a new life, and new feelings of enthusiasm urge him on like the bird who grows wings in



distress. Hans Sachs is the Apollonian artist. "My friend that even is the poet's work that he interprets his dreams. A man's truest thinking is revealed in dreams." The Alexandrians are the masters with their rules and regulations and Beckmesser's singing is like the screeching of owls and crows.

The work of the analyzing intellect terminates in the separation of the artistic elements and the modern opera the most degenerate imitation of the Greek drama arose, the soulless swinging of arms and legs and the stereotyped grin of the dancers is the center of interest, the heart of the spectator is untouched, routine and technique are uppermost and the player has but one aim, viz., to be admired and applauded. But both Nietzsche and Wagner find the dawn of a new day in Beethoven with whom again the Dionysiac art arises in revealing the infinite in the finite; and in the great operas of Mozart music seeks more and more dramatic expression. In Wagner's musical dramas the old Dionysiac fire regains its old creative power and the Bacchantian chorus after a thousand years of aimless wanderings returns again to be invited for the art work of the future. Thus the problem of art becomes to Nietzsche the problem of life, its great theme is man. Without the true man no true art, is the common principle of both Wagner and Nietzsche. Both attack the institution of the state which destroys individuality. With them the aim and office of the new art is to bring to the consciousness of the individual his duty to free himself. But here they also part company. Wagner's individualism is the socialist's individualism. He pleads for a reorganization of society in which every individual is to be a free self-determining agent. Nietzsche pleads for the individualism of the overman only. He says in substance in the *Götzendämmerung* ("Dawn of the Idols"): "The greatest stupidity of modern times is the labor question. Since we have granted the laboring man more and more rights he has become unhappy. If we admit that we must have slaves to do our menial work it is foolishness to make them masters." With Wagner the music drama is to present



a picture of living society. Harmony as the infinite melody is the organic source of society whence the individuals originate, where they strike root and where they vibrate as the "Leit-motive." All the dramas of Wagner have this tendency of the social regeneration of humanity as their theme, from *Rienzi* to *Parsifal*. Nietzsche the great friend and worshipper of Wagner, who said that Nietzsche alone understood him, turns in disgust when it dawns upon him that Wagner glorifies the common herd, the rabble, and that his theater at Baireuth is to be the concrete expression of his socialism. He acknowledges Wagner's mastery over the infinitely small when he says: "He dips most happily into the lowest levels of human happiness, he knows the microscopic character of the soul, he is our most eminent miniature poet of music, who can put into smallest space an infinitude of sentiment and sweetness. But there is another Wagner, Wagner the theoretical man and the actor whose ideals are completely dragged in the dust in *Parsifal*, a work of malice and an attack on common morality. Its redemptive forces are Buddhistic asceticism and vegetarianism, very poor instruments for a world's redemption." Nietzsche, the passionate affirmer of life, who in a most terrible personal struggle had to constantly wrest this affirmation from a suffering body, passes his final condemnation and there could be no reconciliation. And as he broke with Wagner so also with Schopenhauer. *Schopenhauer's pessimism* was the negation of life, life as the expression of infinite suffering. Nietzsche's pessimism grows out of the Dionysiac mythology, which is the emphasis of life, of joy, of exuberation, and pain and death are only their hostile sources which must be overcome. Pain and death are links of the pessimistic chain which must be broken by life.

What attracted Nietzsche in Schopenhauer was his personality, his simplicity and terrible honesty. "Here is a something," he says, "in a philosopher which can never be found in a philosophy, viz., the cause for many philosophies, a great man." And so he writes his *Schopenhauer as Edu-*



cator, which is, however, Nietzsche himself. In *Schopenhauer as Educator* he says "my innermost history is written, especially my vows. There are words in it which are full of blood." They are the peculiarly Nietzschean thoughts. The old idea of culture has been abused and commercialized. Culture today means the ability of making as much money as possible and the nation which can turn out such men most quickly stands highest in modern civilization. Intellectual culture has become only a means to happiness and enjoyment. The second deviation from the cultural ideals has arisen through the selfishness of the state. To consider service for the state as the highest duty and privilege means a return to barbarianism. The state selfishly advances culture only as far as it serves its own purposes. Thirdly culture is abused by those who emphasize the form over against the contents of life, *i. e.*, manners and so-called polite forms, which are mere sham. Finally our culture is suffering from the selfishness of science and its obedient servants, the scholars, their tricky games with truth are made palatable to please certain classes, churches, governments—all of them bread and butter motives.

In contradistinction to these false aims, Nietzsche finds the meaning of true culture in the rise of the genius, the great, original, creative man who has trodden underfoot the limitations of his nature and risen above them. Nietzsche's whole philosophy is based upon this doctrine of the genius, and as this changes so also his own world of thought. In his *Thoughts out of Season* he says: "Every man knows that he is unique, the only one of his kind, but he fears his neighbor and therefore acts and thinks with the herd." "Be yourself" is the warning call to everybody. Schopenhauer was himself and therefore lonely, with the world of governments, of religions, of tyrannies against him, alone in the innermost sanctuary of his heart. *Schopenhauer as Educator* means to Nietzsche a problem, a way—the problem to train the genius, the great individuality who remains faithful to himself, and education must be a liberation from everything which we are



not ourselves. How is it done? How can we understand man as a personality, how can we believe in all his possibilities? The first consecration of true culture receives only he who attaches his heart to a great man. How can we measure a great man? Subjectively and objectively. Subjectively by putting oneself in every man's place with whom one comes in contact, but when the other man's objectivity makes itself felt, there is usually a break. So it was between Nietzsche and Wagner, between Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, in whom he finally discovers a certain hideousness of hatred and avarice. Every outspoken individualist has only one measurement for human greatness and that is his own taste and judgment and the practical result is that he does not further humanity but separates himself from it. Nietzsche's great question to Schopenhauer received only a little answer. "Be lonely and alone, and you will be a genius and in the cultivation of your genius you will fulfill your duty as a man." The study of Schopenhauer leads Nietzsche to the *problem of philosophy*.

The history of philosophy is the history of its problems. Men have ever been anxious to solve the riddle of the universe. From a series of guesses at nature philosophy finally turns to man, to know him not as a product of nature but as an ethical being, which in turn produces the inquiry into the essence and value of knowledge itself, until the "cogito, ergo sum" of Descartes interprets correct thinking as correct living, and establishes a metaphysical world as the sequence of absolute thinking and an Ego as the cause of this absoluteness. The history of modern philosophy is on the one hand an attempt to enlarge or reconstruct the one or other of these stories of its building and on the other hand to tear it down. Nietzsche's position in modern philosophy is to tear down the whole building and not to leave one stone upon another. The sensualism of Locke had placed an interrogation point behind the Ego as a supposed spiritual substance, Hume's scepticism had doubted thinking as a fact and placed in its stead the law of causality and Kant had declared the supersensuous or the absolute the



"Ding an Sich" as unknowable. Nietzsche not only rejects the assumptions of any and every metaphysical existence, he even denies that the process of thinking produces truths and that there is an Ego, the bearer of truth.

These three negations are gradually developed in Nietzsche's life. This development covers the years 1876-1886, when he wrote *Human, all too Human* and *Beyond Good and Evil*. They form the premises to all his subsequent writings. In his first period he is still metaphysician in the sense of Wagner and Schopenhauer, who held that a blind, agnostic will lies behind human consciousness, embracing the first great cause, Kant's "Ding an Sich," which no eye has seen nor ear has heard into which only the genius of the artist leads us. Nietzsche's metaphysics during this time is his belief in the artist, in Richard Wagner. When he breaks with Wagner his metaphysical faith vanishes, things formerly supernatural and divine are now only, "human, all too human." The Dionysiac intoxication is gone, he has waked up from his Apollonian dreams. The intellect so much despised before as compared with the artist's vision, has revenged itself. He calls the book a book for free intellects and dedicates the first part to Voltaire, on the 100th anniversary of his death, May 30, 1878. It proclaims the first great change in Nietzsche's life. "The artist who attempts to know truth has less moral power than the thinker because he emphasizes the phantastic, the mythical, the sense for symbols, the overvaluation of personality." The same is true of the philosopher who forgets that what he calls the world is after all only a picture of the world, colored by himself. But reason is likewise unreliable, for "even the science of physics is only an interpretation but not an explanation of the world." The very laws of logic are insecure, for the logician who believes in thoughts as the expression of his Ego, forgets that a thought does not come when *he* wills it, but only when *it* wills. We are dumbfounded in reading the utter reversion of all values, and it is but poor consolation when Nietzsche calls the illusion, known as truth, a blessing, a



necessity for life, because most errors are more useful than truths. This is the purest nihilism of all philosophical and scientific thinking, alike dangerous to those who reject it and those who accept it. But it is only the natural consequence of that philosophy of the Ego, which claimed to have found in human self-consciousness, in thinking as such the ultimate assurance for all certainty and truth of thought. We cannot simply flee from it and declare it to be absolute nonsense but must look for the issue where it reveals to us a definite current of modern intellectual life. Nietzsche insists that the subjective character and the relativity of all knowledge confirms his denial of truth. He denies the common bond of humanity, the reality of common ideas and opposes philosophy because as an anarchistic individual he is opposed to all forms of communism. The individual Nietzsche hates the insinuation that he is connected by a common bond with all other individuals. But the reliability of the senses only rests on the social relations of men among themselves. As long as we must eat and drink and sleep like our neighbors so long are we all subject to the same objective laws.

As far as the relativity of knowledge is concerned by means of which Nietzsche wants to attack the reliability of the individual's judgment he touches upon one of the most important acquisitions of modern thought life. Everything in the world is the result of a process of growth, what is today changes tomorrow, even the process and the laws of logic. If there are constant factors in human thinking is it the same with the Ego that does the thinking? My Ego of today does not need to worry about the Ego of tomorrow. This is the ultimate and most relentless conclusion. He is in a constant state of change, "only he who changes is related to me."

But even this is only an arbitrary one-sided statement, for the Ego of today stands in close relation of that of yesterday, and the truth of tomorrow flows out of the truth of today. And when Nietzsche replies that the non-logical was before the logical it is on that account not against logic, it is no



wooden iron or square circle. A hammer is no truth but a tool and yet the hammer can drive nails, but not disprove truth. Nietzsche measures truth by strength and error by weakness. He interprets Lessing's striving for truth as striving for power in the constantly changing play of energies. With him the aim of philosophy is not the knowledge of truth but the creation of a higher culture, a higher species, Man. He says, "The will to live uses philosophy to bring about a higher form of being. The philosopher is the man of tomorrow and after tomorrow, his enemy is the man of today." All the extraordinary leaders of mankind, called philosophers have been the bad conscience of their age, their own secret was, to know about a new greatness a new untrodden way to his enlargement. He forgets that in the truth of a thought alone lies the power of enlargement. But he does not want truth as power but power as truth, and thus Nietzsche became the anti-philosopher with the motto, "Power comes before truth!"

The second part of Nietzsche's *Thoughts out of Season* or *The Advantage or Disadvantage of History for Life* belongs in my judgment to his most important but also most perplexing productions. It deals with the *problem of history*.

He rides roughshod over serious problems of the human mind, utterly disregarding the enormous mental labor involved in them. He not only ridicules the teaching of history by names, numbers and statistics and bitterly condemns the ruminant habits of the present age to measure the problems of the present by the ideals of the past, but he insists that we must learn to think unhistorically, must forget that we are merely an aftermath, epigones, and proclaims the rights of the living over against the dead, of the future against the past with a wonderful fascinating power in the second part of his *Thoughts out of Season* written in the form of a scientific brochure. "Man boasts," he says, "of his humanity, so vastly superior over the animal which does not know the today nor the tomorrow but is bound to the fleeting moments. But this very inability of man to forget the past drags like a heavy chain



on his life. The child is happy so long as it plays between the fences of the past and the future, but sooner or later this play is ended when it learns to understand the word 'I was,' that maxim in which struggle, suffering and vexation come to man to remind him what life at bottom really is: a never-to-be-completed imperfect time."

The question with him is how the past can be transformed from a power which inhibits joy and life into one which will enlarge and fortify them. This to him is the very problem of history. History, he says, bears a threefold relation to the living generation. To the man of affairs, the choleric, dominant, ever-aspiring personality, who needs great examples, history is a record of gigantic facts and factors and must be repeated in a monumental way. The conservative and reverential man finds in the past of his own immediate environment, his city and county, the objects of his love and reverence. The history of his own town is to him universal history. He treats history as an antiquarian and makes mountains out of mole hills, he inhibits progress because the old is to him the sacred and infallible. Therefore a third type is necessary, the critical, critical in the practical sense and in the service of life. It is the judgment of the living over the dead, a liberation of the present from the burden of the past. But modern historical research demands that the searcher forget the present in order to live himself entirely into the past and to bring out of its quarries the rock which contains the noble metals that are to be melted out and made a part of modern life. It is a real science and has rendered more important service to man than Nietzsche's utopias which demand that man should fly through the air though nature has denied him wings.

The last and truest reason which Nietzsche gives for his hatred of modern historical research is that it is written from the standpoint of the masses, those lowest clay levels of human society, which are merely fading copies of great men printed on poor paper and from wornout plates, ruled by stupidity, aping, love and hunger. Can they furnish the laws of conduct?



Only the strong individual has historic values for Nietzsche. "Sic voleo, sic jubeo," he says, "all powers in heaven and on earth must be subject to this sovereignty of the individual. It is therefore the task of history to mediate between the giants of humanity and to furnish incentives for more to come. The end of humanity is not at the lowest levels but in the highest types." Nietzsche outhegels Hegel in dictating not only the task of history but also the ends and aims of humanity. Modern research, he claims, aims only at the increase of knowledge, its motto is, "Long live truth, let life perish." But this is not history, only its application. The real problem of history is the faithful objective reproduction of the past in human consciousness by means of scientific historical research, which calls the dead back to life again and thereby increases life and ripens judgment.

The modern state, the result of the fusion of the Roman idea of state with the liberal organizations of the Germanic races, is also a problem for practical life, the *problem of state*. In so far as its political mission appeals to all its citizens and for theoretical consideration in so far as all practical problems must be solved by intellectual processes. The modern state asserts its sovereignty within and its nationalism without. Nietzsche sees a danger for culture in both directions. Over against the Hegelian deification of the state which involves the absorption of the individual Nietzsche asserts his individualistic doctrines, according to which the individual absorbs the state. In his *Zarathustra* the state appears as the new idol who says to man: "I will give you everything if you fall down and worship me. There is nothing greater than I—I am the regulating finger of God." This is the great lie by which the state kills the nation. Culture only thrives in times of political decay, it is wrong to consider the state as the upholder of culture and to intrust the school to it. Political and economic squabbles are not worthy of a decent man's attention, in fact it is almost indecent to mingle with politics, for politics is a disease and its victims are millions, not only on the field of



battle but in the arena of mind. Fatherland and nationalism have killed many of the finest minds. This political disease is worst in democratic governments because it touches there the largest number and paralyzes the individual. The political party leader must necessarily be of the mass type of the herd, in order to please the herd. He must be predatory and a sycophant in order to gain his point. All liberalism disintegrates all other relations of life between teacher and student, parent and children, master and servant, general and soldier, the more liberalism the less respect for authority, including religion, the great bulwark of absolutism in the Macchiavellian sense. The result is final denationalization and cosmopolitanism.

What does Nietzsche put in place of such a state? Not socialism for he declares socialism to be the worst of all despotisms, it accumulates state power and annihilates the individual. Its preachment of equality includes the rabble and women, but where the rabble drinks of life, this well of joy, all wells are poisoned, and woman is only born for obedience; man says "*I will*," woman says, *he wills*. Woman is not fit to be a life companion of a highly organized man. What great philosopher was ever married? A married philosopher belongs "to comedy." He describes his Utopia of state as follows: "In a better order of society the hard burdens and menial labors of life will be assigned to those who suffer least by it, *i. e.*, the dullest, while the highest and sublimest types of life, those who are most sensitive to menialism will be the great rulers. Two castes will thus arise, that of compulsory labor or slavery and that of free labor or mastery."

His system is a form of aristocratic anarchism, not anarchism for all as advocated by Krapokin, Bakunin and Mackey but anarchism for a few specially endowed overmen. But the real problem of state is, whether and how the state can further the uplift of human life as such. Nietzsche's aristocratic anarchism would lead indeed to the most brutal despotisms and the annihilation of genius, for genius can only thrive in a society founded upon freedom for all only as we give all



an equal chance to develop their individuality can we discover the genius among all. The problem of the state is therefore the problem of the social state, as a social organism in which all the cells have a chance for growth.

"Politics ruin character," said Bismarck, *bad* politics of course, ambitious, superficial politics, partisan intrigues—but *true* politics open up vast horizons and liberate man from his individual limitations.

Nietzsche's treatment of the problem of state is a cure and a disease at the same time. A cure by showing us that the course of life is not yet known in its ultimate results, because behind all public turmoil there is the mysterious personality of man. "Aside of the market place, he says, and aside of fame all things great happen. Aside of fame all the inventors of new values dwell. Flee my friend into your loneliness. Flee thither where pure, strong air holds its sway." But this flight becomes a disease if the lonely one does not find his way back into the world, into the market places, into politics and the state.

Nietzsche's essay on morality and religion involving the *problem of morals* have given the greatest offense. Even those who endorse his fundamental principle of individualism stop here. They claim that his three writings *Beyond Good and Evil*, *The Genealogy of Morals* and *The Antichrist* announce the black shadows of his later insanity.

But they are after all the natural outgrowth of his fundamental principles. There was no escape. In the glorification of the Dionysiac art, the instinctive life of man, as developed by the *Birth of Tragedy*, lay hidden, the new morality, or rather the negation of morality, which Nietzsche chanced to have discovered only later. There the instinctive life controls the intellect as one of its organs, and reason as an aid to will. The aim of reason is with Nietzsche not knowledge but action, the task of philosophy not the better truth, but higher culture. Reason is therefore only regulative not decisive. His "will to truth" leads Nietzsche into the problems of morality and



religion, the holiest of holies in the life of the human spirit. "We must," he says in *Beyond Good and Evil* question the value of these values which hitherto have been placed beyond all questioning. Suppose morality is the danger of all dangers, a narcotic, a poison which overstimulates the present at the cost of the future?"

The customary theological explanation of morality is metaphysical. The eternal will of God determines what is good and what is evil. The philosophical definition is also metaphysical: To Plato virtue is an overflow from the knowledge of the supersensuous idea, the love for the invisible. Kant excludes on the one hand metaphysics as unknowable, on the other recognizes it in his categorical imperative. Man is in all his actions within the sphere of the phenomenal subject to the law of cause and effect and therefore not free, but suggests in his moral precepts that freedom which the feeling of responsibility awakens in him. Nor does Schopenhauer, who further develops the metaphysics of morality on the Kantian basis, acknowledge the freedom of the will, making it dependent on motives, and motives are dependent on the character and knowledge of the man. But two phenomena, the feeling of responsibility and sympathy, both of metaphysical origin make the will ultimately dependent on its metaphysical foundation, viz., the world of the intelligible will, of which the real world is the presentation.

Dr. Paul Rée, Nietzsche's later friend, demolished even this last metaphysical foundation by demonstrating that moral concepts are of historical origin, developed in the struggle for existence, and changing with the conditions of life. Nietzsche adopts these historic-psychological explanations and starts out to set aside the two phenomena on which Schopenhauer had founded the metaphysics of morality, by explaining them as historic factors, outgrowths of the gradual development of the meaning of good and bad, terms first applied to things useful and injurious, then to actions of the same type, further to motives and finally to character. But since character is the



necessary outgrowth of past influences it cannot be held responsible and the history of moral valuation becomes the history of an error, the error of responsibility which rests upon the error of the freedom of the will. Responsibility is nothing but the reminiscence of the painful consequences of human acts in primitive times.

But Nietzsche traces sympathy to a metaphysical origin not to an historical. In primitive times cruelty constituted the festive joy of humanity, for great popular festivals never lacked some form of human torments as entertainment and this primitive instinct is still with us in the modern bull fight, boxing match or foot ball game. Therefore joy in suffering is the original expression and sympathy only its degenerate outgrowth. When sympathy increases society degenerates—even today only the weak and sickly crave sympathy and Christianity is responsible for this low state of affairs, for this degenerate symptom is our social and intellectual life.

Therefore, it is pure illusion to speak of the free and unfree will. In real life we only deal with the strong and the weak will. The moral problem is therefore the question, how the strong will can become stronger, how it can develop the will to power. The will to power is the expression of the world's and life's real existence. Life is essentially acquisition, suppression, imposition, in its mildest form, fleecing. The will to power is the exponent of all culture, all moral value judgments must be measured, corrected and revalued by this power. Current morality originated when the weak revenged themselves on the strong, by calling them "bad" and their rebellion created a double standard of morality, a master morality and a slave morality with entirely opposite moral values.

Nietzsche calls himself the Immoralist, and proclaims as his noblest task the salvation of humanity from morality, which is to him the original sin of humanity. A harsher condemnation of our entire cultural life has never been uttered. But Nietzsche has at least rendered a great service to ethics



by chasing the doctrine of the freedom of the will from its last hiding place, the metaphysical. Yet his whole attempt to reform morality is a failure. The "Genealogy of Morals" as Nietzsche gives it in the second part of the first volume of *Human, all too Human* exists only in the head of the author, but not in history. The will to power is only a phenomenal form of life but not life itself. Napoleon's will to power had to surrender before the ethical powers of the national spirit, which in turn had caught the problems of life not from the sovereign individual but from the moral spirit of the people.

Nietzsche in his positive demands on morality is not philosopher, not historian but only the representative of an age in which the most tyrannical egotism shows its strength in the battle of the interests and the classes. Nietzsche, the immoralist, is only a revelation of the innermost secret of an age, which has canonized the most reckless competition. He is the philosophical decoration and justification of the economic theories of the fleecing of the weak by the strong.

Since the end of the second century, when Celsus wrote his pasquil against Christianity and Lucian derided the Christians in his poems, none has so bitterly attacked Christianity as Friedrich Nietzsche. The most serious problem is to him the *religious problem*. He calls himself the Antichrist, the atheist who considers it his real vocation in life to eradicate God entirely out the hearts of men. And although *The Antichrist* is his last work I cannot find anywhere even traces of insanity, but on the contrary consider it the ripest fruit, the most consistent revelation of Nietzsche's spirit. It has all the excellencies and all the faults of his writings in style and contents and is in essential agreement with his former productions. Nietzsche was a very serious man and must be taken seriously as a scholar and not as a mere libelist. Moreover, behind him stands the Nietzsche congregation, which boasts of this the most modern of all beliefs. This makes the author not merely an individual but a type, a representative of a tendency which has found in him a most iconoclastic prophet.



Here is the last word which he utters of Christianity: "I condemn Christianity. I raise the most terrible charge against Christianity that has ever been made. It is to me the most complete of all corruptions, it has had the will to the most complete of all corruptions. The Christian church has left nothing untouched in its corrupting influence, it has depreciated every value, made a lie of every truth, an unrighteousness of every righteousness—I call Christianity the one great curse, the one great inner corruption, the one great instinct of revenge, to which no means is poisonous, clandestine and mean enough, I call it the one great corruption of humanity!" Priests, theologians and philosophers are the three classes whom he holds responsible for this condition and on whom he vents his wrath. Whoever has theological blood in his body occupies a false position and relation to everything natural and normal. This blood has corrupted all philosophy—and protestantism is the *peccatum originale*. Kant, Luther and Leibnitz are three great hindrances to German righteousness. We naturally expect such a position from Nietzsche's discourse on morality. Christianity with its overvaluation of the poor, the lowly turns against life and calls everything which serves the will to power sin. Sin, guilt, judgment and punishment with all that is involved in them crush all the higher instincts of the will to power; by this slave morality will itself is destroyed and man must surrender to the priest who has changed the normally healthy man into a sick man, a sufferer, because it is easier to rule over sufferers. He comes as a comforter but he comforts not to heal but to preserve the disease. In the glorification of the spirit this slave morality has reached its highest triumph and with it, it has established its most pernicious principle, the doctrine of equality of the souls before God. All these are abstractions or nothings and all such faith is an act of unselfing.

What is Jesus' relation to this Christianity in Nietzsche's mind? Nietzsche is sorry that Jesus had no Dostojewsky as his biographer, to describe the transcending charm of this



interesting "decadent," in whom the sublime, the morbid and the childlike mingled. He calls him the fanatic, the deadly enemy of the theologians, and priests, of the hierarchy of society, of the caste system. As a holy anarchist, a political criminal he was crucified. This Hebrew has been greatly maligned by his disciples. In "Zarathustra" we read: "Truly too early died this Hebrew whom the preachers of slow death honor, and it was a calamity for many that he died too early. He hardly knew else but the tears and melancholy of the Hebrew, and this hatred of the good and the just, *i. e.*, the powerful. Believe me my brethren he died too early! He would have revoked his teachings if he had reached my age, he would have learned to live and to laugh." And in the Antichrist: "Jesus died as he lived and taught not in order to show how to die but how to live. He does not resist, he prays, he suffers, he loves. Jesus the first Christian has also remained the only one. His disciples made him out a theological fanatic. Paul transformed Christianity into the priest religion, developed the redeemer type, preached the death on the cross as a sacrifice and made out of the gospel of good tidings a gospel of bad tidings."

This Antichrist is not of the Strauss type, nor of the rabble type with their cry for liberty, fraternity and equality. On his standard is written the little word which has stirred the whole modern world, declaring war to all equality and fraternity, the little word "I, my I, my Self."

But both views, those of the democratic anarchist and those of the aristocratic anarchist are one-sided. Both project their own ideal into the history of Christianity and find Christianity opposed to their ideal, because Christianity is an ideal of life, which history cannot satisfy because its aim lies in the future, never in the past, it is a leaven, not a finished bread, a new wine, a process of fermentation, a life not a readymade system of thoughts or ecclesiastical institutions. Its ideal is the whole man, not *only* the individual but *also* the individual, and also the community; mankind, but not only mankind, nay more



the universe. Therefore the whole history of Christianity shows a rising and counter-rising of all human factors. Only in its entire process of development can the essence and power of Christianity be discerned; to it belong a Constantin and a Charlemagne, the dominant types, as well as the saint on the pillar, the hermit, Luther, the champion of monarchs and the leader of the peasants with all its lowly and loyal subjects. The doctrine of sin and redemption has been as often the expression of the strong as of the weak will, and the fanatical ascetic represents only one pole of the Christian human ideal. Therefore, there is a good deal of the Christian even in the Antichrist. All his accusations have been made by the very men whom Nietzsche accuses; he only calls to mind one forgotten item in the calculation of Christianity and development. The God of most people today is the God of the schools, not of life, not the God whom men seek, in whom we live and move and have our being. Here we meet the positive side to Nietzsche's negations. His whole Zarathustra is permeated by that piety, which Goethe describes when he says: "In our bosom's pure delight there lives a longing to dedicate ourselves to a something so high, so pure but unknown—we call it to be pious." Or as Schleiermacher calls it "a feeling, a comprehending of the infinite in the finite." With Nietzsche religion is not truth but power and life, not a something derived but a something original. And as the "Antichrist" attacks Christianity for the sake of Christianity so he attacks the belief in God for the sake of religion, viz., the theologian's God, defined and analyzed. Nietzsche thus becomes to many the atheist just as the prophets of old became atheists in the eyes of the strict formalists and the first Christians blasphemers in the eyes of the Jews. Nietzsche says with Dionysiac passion what religious fervor has said at all times only in other words. A God who needs human hands for His glorification has at all times aroused the good and the strong to bitter opposition.

In his aphorisms *On the Eternal Recurrence* we find an



attempt of a positive religious confession, the theological answer to the innermost question of religion. What must I do to inherit eternal life? When Zarathustra in his deep touching song of the night sings: "Something unquenched and unquenchable is within me which wants to be heard, a lust for love is within me which speaks the language of love." Is this not the cry of the psalmist, "As the hart crieth for the waterbrooks so crieth my soul after thee, O God?"

In Zarathustra we find Nietzsche's ideal man—all his negations end here in one grand affirmation, they were the preparatory stages to prepare for new culture in which the sick man is to become strong again and the old tables of false values are broken and replaced by new values. It would require a whole essay to do justice to Zarathustra, which is a lyric, an epic and a drama all in one, symbolistic to a higher degree than even the second part of Faust, but its symbols are easily understood, they are the personification of Nietzsche's thought world, character sketches of the overman. While man as such is only a bridge, a transition, bound to his little world of joys and sorrows, and to the imperfect "it was" which must be transformed into the "I shall will it so," the *overman is an act of the will*. But the overman is not an exponent of brutal selfishness, but one who creates his own self *only* for the sake of the great love, in order that his self may overflow with blessings for all that are near and far. Goethe has perhaps more pointedly pictured to us the overman in his Faust, when he takes him through the hard school of life until he becomes a real man. But enough! I must also refrain from discussing Nietzsche's new culture over against the petrified scholasticism of the times. Education is also pre-eminently life, to learn to live so that you must wish to live again, *i. e.*, to live for life eternal. "Let us stamp our lives with the image of eternity: this thought contains more than all religions, which despise this life as a temporary one and teach men to look for another very indefinite one. In the future this thought, he continues, will more and more prevail



and those who do not believe in it must finally die out." But this eternal recurrence of sameness will not be accepted by many with pleasure; however it reveals the climax of Nietzsche's thought world: the deification of the concrete individual. The doctrine of the eternal recurrence of sameness is the ultimate conclusion of Nietzsche's individualism, the individualism *sub specie æternitatis*.

Nietzsche is the strength and weakness of our modern life, he is the man in whom personality has reached its climax, a being whose psychic Ego embraces everything which in the vast ocean of modern life touches all shores of being. Everybody is somewhat of a Nietzschean. The modern painter, the modern sculptor, the modern poet, the modern musician are all supremely subjective, and the triumph of this modernism has not only shaken our secular systems of learning and life to its foundation, it has also knocked on the gates of St. Peter's at Rome. But the weakness of this individualistic modernism is its lack of humor, it is too ponderous, too serious, for true humor only begins when the personal becomes impersonal, when the individual rises above the personal and looks upon life as a great cause which he serves with his personality. This generates a power which far surpasses that of personality and produces a confidence, a hope, a love, a proper mood of soul, which in no situation lacks the lifesaving humor. Only such natures should read Nietzsche, for only such can overcome Nietzsche, and Nietzsche is something which must be overcome. But Nietzsche has taught us above everything to see problems where we did not see them before, and to observe a calm silence where we formerly glibly talked. If he has done this, he has given us much, viz., the possibility to do our own thinking.

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## II.

### THE SOCIAL MIND.

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It is the purpose of the writer to discuss the social mind from historical, analytical and practical points of view. The historical method of approach is essential inasmuch as the question involves the whole theory of society. The development of the several theories of society and their consequent effect on the problem of the social mind must therefore form a necessary introduction to any adequate interpretation of social mental phenomena. Far more difficult but no less important is the psychological analysis of the mental group, the differentiation of the mind of the many from the mind of the one. As to the practical value of a study of the social mind, one need only refer to the frequency of such expressions as "public opinion," "popular will," "the mind of the community," "the Zeitgeist," the "âme des peuples," or "the social conscience," in order to realize its great influence for good or evil in the solution of personal and social problems.

The place for an accurate definition of a subject is at the end of an inquiry rather than at the beginning. For the sake of marking out the field we venture, at this point, the general statement that by social mind is meant the state of consciousness common to a whole group. But does society have consciousness? Is there any consciousness but that of individuals? Is not the term social mind only a figure of speech, an analogy, a synonym for society itself? Is there a single all-inclusive consciousness separate from the many individual consciousnesses in society? Do private minds agglomerate into a higher compound mind? Is the social mind a thing apart, or is it only another name for the sum of individual minds in



interaction? These questions are raised only with a view to showing something of the real nature of the problem before us.

Let us admit at once that the term "social mind" is unfortunately not a happy one in many ways. It doubtless tends to express too much. The whole science of sociology is still in its formative period and many of its terms are still in the squatter stage, where the title is given to the man first on the ground. Doubtless there is need in sociology for more definiteness and uniformity in the use of many of its terms. The phrase social mind is not used at all by many sociologists, though this does not imply that they do not deal with social mental phenomena under different names. Whatever term we may use, the fact is that there are social phenomena on every hand showing that frequently many minds do act as one mind, many brains as one brain. Wherever minds do so act you have the mightiest movements in history springing into being, and the deepest forces of social life making themselves felt. But how does all this come to pass? Physiology tells us how a multitude of brain cells are coördinated in the individual man's cranium and think as one brain. But how do a multitude of brains coördinate themselves and function in many ways as one brain? This is the puzzling question before us, to understand how many individual minds work as one mind, and how many individual wills act together as one will.

Before determining whether society has a mind, and if so, in what sense society can think and feel and will, one must have some definite conception as to what really constitutes society. Here is the crux of the whole question. To the mediaeval realist society is some mysterious being which has a life of its own, separate far and above the life of individual men and women. To him the social mind is a distinct entity, like the soul of mediæval philosophy, having a life of its own, independent of individual lives, yet in some way overruling the latter, like a sort of oversoul. On the other hand, the thoroughgoing individualist who thinks that individuals are indestructible entities, like the monads of Leibniz without



windows in their souls, will scorn the idea of society as a being which has either life or mind of its own. According to the extreme individualist every man is a static self, standing upon a separate pedestal unconnected with his fellowmen except in a mechanical way. Then of course society would be nothing more than a contract, a sort of semi-mechanical process. Thus according to Rosseau the parties to the contract would agree to set certain limitations to their own activities and coöperate in the pursuit of ends which they think two can secure together better than either alone. This theory of course which assumes that men's individual personality consists in their separateness from each other, and that society is made up of persons who consciously seek to attain their own ends in and through a sort of outward agreement with their fellowmen—this theory has very little use for the conception of the social mind, and must necessarily fail to explain the more complex phenomena of society. If, however, society is viewed as a biological organism and the analogy is pressed in its several details we get a totally different conception of what constitutes the social mind.

As we look at the whole question historically we note that there have been two opposite methods of approach to this subject. (1) On the one hand there are those who have reasoned from society as a whole, from social life in the large, from the mass aspect and have analyzed it with a view to finding the origin and development of social mind and concerted action. (2) Then there are those who have looked upon society from the standpoint of the individual, from the unit end, and have tried to trace genetically how the socialization of individuals takes place, and how the elements of social mind grow with the development of the individual.

We shall trace the interpretation of the social mind as given by the leading representatives of these two opposite points of approach.

Before the days of modern sociology we find the philosophers attempting to explain the actions of individuals from the



standpoint of the general mind. Hegel's view of the universe as the progressive unfolding of the idea, and of history as the unveiling in nation after nation of this general mind in diverse forms and stages strains the conception to the very limit. Yet Hegel's position had great influence on social science. The ideal theory of social life proceeding by deduction influenced even Karl Marx who in his earlier days was a young Hegelian. It was only the naturalism of Feuerbach added to this social conception of Hegel which later led Marx to the conclusion that not only are all social institutions the result of growth, but that the causes of this growth are to be sought in the conditions of material existence.

Comte the real founder of sociological tradition had a rather mechanical conception of the forms in which the social principle works, which was quite natural in the days before the impulse of evolution made itself felt in all scientific thinking. Yet one must admit that Comte had also a presentiment that the social principle itself was not mechanical. This fact accounts for the circumstance that his followers took two divergent courses, some of them taking the spiritual clue, and others working in accordance with the materialistic and mechanical conception. The physical and spiritual aspects of social phenomena were to Comte manifestations of one underlying reality, "the Great Being." Whatever conception of the psychic unity of society Comte has is associated with the idea of the "Great Being." Society to him is not a process involving interplay of minds. He did not attribute substantial existence to the social mind, nor did he think of the method by which through mental interaction, sentiments, traditions and institutions are formed.

When we come to Herbert Spencer we reach a decidedly more advanced stage in the interpretation of social life. His treatment of society is more psychological. The mental facts underlying social phenomena are constantly referred to. In his *Principles* treating of external and internal factors of social development he lays a great deal of stress on the mental



qualities of primitive man. In his presentation of the two fundamental types of society, the militant and the industrial, he constantly shows the correlation between institutions and mental qualities—one phase of his doctrine of correspondence. Spencer emphasized the individual rather than the group life. He regarded the properties of the group as determined by the qualities of its members “as the form of a pile of cannon balls is determined by the shapes and sizes of the balls themselves.”

In a chapter on the “General Mind” in his volumes on *Problems of Life and Mind*, George Henry Lewes makes perhaps the first clear statement of the whole question of the social mind. To him the general mind is a sort of capitalized experience of the race which has great influence on the experience of the individual. He says: “The object of our search is *the* human mind, not *a* mind. Psychology has to explain not my thought nor yours, not my modes of reaction nor yours, except in so far as these are exemplifications of the normal reactions of an ideal mind. Amid the changes of the individual mind there are qualities common to all which do not change, and the total of these is condensed in the abstract conception, mind. While the mental functions are functions of the individual organism, the product mind is more than an individual product. Like its great instrument language, it is at once individual and social.” He illustrates how language is both individual and social. Every human being speaks not only by virtue of vocal expression but also by virtue of social need; the words are not his individual creation and yet he must appropriate them before he can understand them; he may repeat the words of his race but at the same time he must rethink them for himself before he can properly use them. So with the capitalized experience of the race, he must assimilate it before it is his own. In one sense it is general, in another it is particular. So there are capitalized emotions, but he can only feel them when his own soul is moved by them. There are general and capitalized thoughts, but he



cannot think these general thoughts so long as his experience refuses to be condensed in their symbols. This also holds true of sensations, appetites, volitions and sentiments. Now just as language belongs to the community by whom and for whom it was created, so in like manner "Thought belongs essentially to humanity. The experiences of each individual come and go; they correct, enlarge, destroy one another, leaving behind them a certain residual store, which, condensed in intuitions and formulated in principles, direct and modify all future experiences. The sum of these is designated as individual mind. A similar process evolves the *General Mind*—the residual store of experience common to all. By language the individual shares in the general fund, which thus becomes to him an impersonal objective influence. To it each appeals. We all assimilate some of its material, and help to increase its store. Not only do we find ourselves confronting nature to whose order we must conform, but confronting society, whose laws we must obey." Lewes warns his readers against the metaphysical fallacy of assuming the general mind to be a world-soul detached from individuals. Yet he insists that there are men and there is humanity; there are minds and besides the individual minds there is the Human Mind. He says that men living always in groups coöperate like the organs in an organism, their actions having a common impulse and a common end. A great part of their life they hold in common, roads and temples, experiences and dogmas, customs and laws and traditions. Into this common social medium each new generation enters and adapts itself. In this way the general mind has a powerful influence on the individual mind, and the collective experience of the race helps to fashion the experience of the individual. Thus it is that men often accept what they cannot understand and obey what they do not believe. It is because their thoughts are only partly their own, they are also the thoughts of others; their standards are outside, and their actions are largely guided by the will of others. This may be a great hindrance or a great help. Most frequently



an individual is strengthened and enriched by assimilating the experiences of others. Lewes marks an epoch in the study of the social mind, in so far as he saw clearly the psychic connection between the individual and society, and emphasized the importance of the social factor in mental phenomena.

Then comes the German school of Folk Psychologists, influenced by Herbart's view of the mind. The founders Lazarus and Steinthal assert that folk-psychology deals with the mind of the whole community which to them is something different from all the different minds which belong to it and which controls them all. This comes very close to postulating a social brain and to exerting the existence of thought apart from individual consciousness. A "Volk" or a people is defined by them not as those who have a common ethnic origin or a common speech but as "a mass of men who regard themselves as one people," because of a common experience and a common tradition. The "Volksgeist" is the bond, the principles "The idea of a people in so far, as it concerns their mental life." This social mind reacts upon environment but is not based upon external surroundings. "No Volksgeist is a product of nature, but none comes to be what it is without the coöperation of nature." The German folk-psychologists also emphasize the fact that "only a small part of the whole mental content is at once in clear consciousness, either in the social mind or in the individual, and that the predominating mental characteristics of different historical periods is largely explained by the temporary predominance in the center of consciousness of a certain part of the whole social content."

Another method of approach to the general subject of the social mind has been that of the descriptive psychologists. This is the method of those interpreters who study nations in the large, from the standpoint of their present traits and activities. Take Münsterberg's volume *Die Amerikaner*, as an example, De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, Boutmy's *The English People*, Fouillee's *Psychology of the French People*. These are all



really psychologies of national spirit, studies in social psychology, interpretations of social life in mental terms. They all depict the more or less enduring and general mental qualities of a people, traditions, sentiments, customs and common possessions of the normal members of a national group. While the analysis may not be intimate and the results only suggestive, still these descriptive studies of social mind have a place in any serious consideration of the subject. Münsterberg's interpretation is by no means superficial. To him American politics are the projection of our "spirit of self-determination"; American economics the result of the "spirit of self-initiative"; American intellectual activities the "reflex of the spirit of self-completion"; American social life the output of the "spirit of self-assertion." Münsterberg does not say that these principles may not exist in other men; he does say however that the objective facts of American life can be understood only in their relation to these principles. Boutmy as a disciple of Taine naturally emphasizes the influence of environment on English character. He says that his endeavor is "to grasp the fundamental basis of the English character, that part of it which for all time and through each change of government will remain the same." The danger with Boutmy is that he rather looks upon national mental life as something fixed, instead of something that may undergo slow and certain alteration. From this standpoint Fouillee's interpretation of the French social mind is superior, in so far as he shows how the French mind has developed under the moulding influence of racial and psychical factors.

A passing reference ought to be made to the work of anthropologists and ethnologists who have helped to determine the conditioning factors which entered into the formation of the social group and the development of the social mind, *e. g.*, Gumpłowicz and his theory of race-conflict which conceives society as conditioned on every hand by groups of men perpetually in a process of struggle with each other, of conquest, of absorption or of assimilation; Buckle and his theory that



the advance of European civilization was characterized by a diminishing influence of physical laws and an increasing influence of mental laws, and that the measure of civilization is the triumph of mind over external agents; Ratzel, Novicow, Lapouge and others. Likewise reference ought to be made to Ratzenhofer and his theory of human interest which claims that through divergent interests groups are disintegrated but that the social mind, the "mental unification of men is secured only as men have interests in common and that people go up the scale of civilization as certain common ideas and interests become dominant. Concerning De Greef's theory that the social organism is distinguished from the individual by the element of "conscious agreement" or mutual consent and concord, nothing need be said except that the thing savors too much of a "contract" to form a psychological basis for a study of society in mental terms.

Mr. Lester Ward likewise is of only indirect interest in our study. When the influence of Herbert Spencer exaggerated the physical elements in shaping society and concentrated attention upon the mechanical correspondence in social combinations, regarding social progress as a sort of mechanically determined distribution of energy, Mr. Ward sought to show in all his writings that the mind can control the conditions of human life, and that society by its own conscious volition can convert the natural process of evolution into an artificial process, and thus shape its own destiny by becoming teleologically progressive. He showed that social forces were not mills of the gods which men could at most simply learn to describe, but that they could be used by the mind of man for human improvement. He showed from the standpoint of a true biologist and of an equally true psychologist that the attitude of man toward nature should be twofold; first that of a student; second that of a master. When Mr. Ward speaks of the mind of man, however, he does so as a monist to whom mind is simply the highest form of matter.

Of more direct bearing on the history of our subject is the



work of Wm. Wundt, the German psychologist, who brings all the help of modern science to his investigation. If, he says, by mind we understand only the whole content of psychological experiences, and by laws of the mind the observable uniformities connected with such experiences, then the social mind (*Volkseele*) will be as justifiable and necessary a matter of psychological investigation as the individual mind. Since there appear uniformities in psychical phenomena which are connected with the mutual interrelation of individuals, folk-psychology can advance the same claim as individual psychology to call itself a science of law. He contends that the social mind and its laws can be reached through the study of mental interaction in language, myth and custom. The qualities of the social mind according to Wundt are not traceable to individual action but "spring from the common action of a number of the members of a community." But what the relation is between individual mental action and that common action which is the essence of social mind he does not make clear.

Another long step in the treatment of the problem of the social mind was taken by Professor Giddings. He attempted to find the absolute origin of all concerted action and found it in what he calls "like response to the same given stimulus, while in unlike response we have the beginning of all those processes of individuation, of differentiation, of competition which bring about the infinite complexity of organized social life. Men may respond to the same outward stimulus because they are inwardly alike, they have a certain similarity of sensations and feelings. This likeness of sensation is noticed, there is a perception of resemblance, and the result is a consciousness of kind. The social mind then is the phenomenon of individual minds acting simultaneously, and especially of individual minds in communication with one another acting concurrently." The social mind has four modes corresponding to the four stages in the integration of like response: (1) responsiveness to stimulation, (2) concurrent feeling and intel-



ligence, (3) consciousness of kind, (4) concerted volition of two or more individuals.

In his *Elements of Sociology*, Professor Giddings puts his position very plainly. "When two or more individuals at the same moment are receiving like sensations, perceiving the same relations, experiencing the same kind of emotion, thinking the same thoughts, arriving in their judgments at the same conclusion—a state of facts exists in the population which evidently must be classed among facts of mind, and yet must be distinguished from the mental activity of an individual, who, absolutely alone, completely cut off from communication with his fellowmen, thinks solely about himself and his immediate material surroundings. To the group of facts that may be described as the simultaneous like-mental-activity of two or more individuals in communication with one another, or as a concert of the emotion, thought, and will of two or more communicating individuals, we give the name, the social mind." When, however, Professor Giddings adds that by the term social mind we should regard just this group of facts and nothing more, we believe his definition fails to include some important factors in the social mind. For the social mind does not only mean the mental possessions of a society, or the common mental characteristics of its members, but also certain qualities which are realized by these members as being common, a sort of common social consciousness which is an efficient dynamic agent in social action.

The influence of the social mind as a dynamic agent was especially prominent in the work of Durkheim, who proved that the ultimate social phenomenon lay in the coercion of the individual mind by modes of action, thought and feeling external to itself. He is the leader of the crowd-psychologists, who emphasize the impression which many minds make upon any one mind. To him the characteristic of a social fact is that it is capable of exercising an external constraint upon the individual. Society then is society because each man is moulded by all men. Durkheim leads those thinkers in mod-



ern sociology who emphasize the influence upon the individual of the social mass, through suggestion, conscious or unconscious intimidation, tradition and education. His great mistake lay in the fact that he failed to see that the real social constraint moves individuals from within not from without. There is danger too of his getting lost in a mediæval realism by forgetting that nothing psychic can exist except in minds correlated with concrete individual brains.

We have now examined most of the theories of those who have started with the many or with society as a mass and from that standpoint have tried to interpret the social unit. Let us confess at once that the result has not been very satisfactory. For that reason many writers especially in more recent times have started at the other end. They have started with a study of the individual and have asked themselves how is the individual man shaped into a social coöperating being. They have studied men genetically. They have traced the development of personality by means of child study, or they have made a cross-section analysis of the self with a view to finding the line of demarcation between the social and the individual aspect of a man.

Child study goes back to Herbart and Froebel, Pryer and Perez, and adolescent study has received new impetus at the hands of the school of G. Stanley Hall. The whole purpose is a serious attempt to ascertain the actual process by which individuals become social beings. The finest piece of work in the line of genetic psychology is James Mark Baldwin's study of the psychological development of individual personality in the early stages of growth, for light upon his social nature. Baldwin's volumes on *Mental Development* and *Social and Ethical Interpretations* were epoch-making, the latter work being crowned with the gold medal of the Royal Academy of Denmark. The basis of his whole theory is that both social and ethical sentiment develop by the generalization of the idea of personality. He solves the problem of the interrelation between the individual and society by what he calls the "dia-



lectic of personal growth." The ego and alter are born together. The social self is born and developed with the personal self. A child gets to know others as copies of itself and to know itself as copies of others. Other people's bodies, says the child to itself, have experiences in them such as mine has. They are also *me's*. My sense of myself grows by imitation of you, and my sense of yourself grows in terms of my sense of myself. Both ego and alter are thus essentially social. Man is a social outcome rather than a social unit. Man is not a person who stands up in his isolated majesty over against another man. He is always in his greatest part someone else. Every thing that he learns is assimilated from his fellows. Social acts are his because they are society's first. It is on truths such as these, which recent writers have been bringing to light, that the philosophy of society must be built up.

In addition to the genetic study of personality, the individual has been studied in cross-section by psychologists and metaphysicians with a view to marking a possible line between the social and the individual mind. A philosophical analysis of the Ego was made by men like the late William James and by Josiah Royce of Harvard. To Professor James the Self is "that bundle of ideas and sentiments which to an individual have the closest and warmest feeling. In its widest possible sense a man's Self is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands and horses, and yacht and bank-account. All these things give him the same emotions. If they wax and prosper, he feels triumphant; if they dwindle and die away, he feels cast down." All experiences are thus divided into two parts, the self and the non-self. Constantly different parts of our experiences pass from one side to the other. Each of us dichotomizes the universe in a different place. Though Professor James himself did not make the social applications he opened a rich field. Likewise Josiah Royce comes close to the same truth when he says that "our



belief in the reality of nature is inseparably bound up with our belief in the existence of our fellow men. . . . By a man's Self you mean a certain totality of facts viewed as more or less immediately given and as distinguished from the rest of the world of Being. . . . We have as many selves as we have various offices, duties, types of training or variations of moods. . . . In us men the distinction between the Self and the Not-self has a predominantly social origin." So to Professor Ormond the self is social. "The only way in which social intercourse is possible or social effects producible, is through the power which each self-conscious individual has of internally representing the consciousness of his fellow; or putting it from a different angle, the power which each self has of entering into the consciousness of its fellow and producing there an internal representation of itself."

On the whole the genetic method pursued by Baldwin is more satisfactory than the metaphysical analysis of the Self followed by James and Royce. If the Self is conceived only as a part of experience, an evanescent and changeable section of experience, the individual may soon be lost. It is the old question of being and becoming. While there may be no fixed Ego, still there is some element of truth in Spencer's biological conception which conserves the units of society, though perhaps his figure of the cannon balls may be too rigid. The genetic method of Baldwin permits of both the biological emphasis on the units of society and the psychological emphasis on growth. In other words it is based on the development of a definite and distinct personal human being.

After this rather extended historical study let us gather the threads. The first step in the constructive understanding of the social mind is the question of its genesis. For this we take the method of Baldwin as a basis, viz., the study of the development of the social personality, the genetic method which inquires into the development of the human individual in the earlier stages of his growth for light upon his social nature. The opening mind of the child is drawn to persons around it.



Through intercourse with them it acquires a large part of its experience, most of its habits and mannerisms. Its mental life is of social derivation from the standpoint of content and function. By association with others the child's permanent, central content of consciousness which constitutes its selfhood is formed. This selfhood carries with it not only an idea of individual self but also an idea of others. The psychic element of society then exists in *individual* minds because the self in its individual aspect and the self in its social aspect (my thoughts about others) are made one in their very genesis and by their constant interplay during life. This does away with the whole conception of the mediæval realist that the social mind is a thing which exists as a sort of oversoul, apart from the individual. It emphasizes the fact that there is no such thing as a social brain, but that all psychical processes come to their fulfillment in individual minds and nowhere else. On the other hand it does away with the idea that self-consciousness is a sort of primary and antecedent thing and that social consciousness is derived from it by some recondite process of combination or elimination. The I-consciousness does not appear until the child is about two years old and when it does appear it comes in inseparable conjunction with the consciousness of other persons and of those relations which make up the social group.

Our historical survey has showed us too that the term social mind may stand for at least two different things. It may mean simply the accumulated and inherited mass of knowledge, sentiments, beliefs and traditions of a people, a sort of common mental possession. In this sense it would mean that the boy of today has advantages which the boy of Athens and Rome did not possess because of the larger social inheritance which falls to him. All the intervening generations since the days of Homer and Cicero have left behind them the results of their labors and genius in social knowledge and social institutions. These are the tools which the modern boy has at hand with which to begin his work. This accumulated experience of the



ages is the fixed capital by which the efficiency of the individual of our day may be increased. The ideas which have been wrought out in the storm and stress of the centuries, the inventions and the discoveries, the habits and the ideals of the ages are in this sense the common mental content which awaits the appropriation of every new-born child.

The second meaning which may be given to the term social mind refers not only to common social knowledge and common social feeling. It refers to a fact clearly brought out by Dr. Davis in his *Psychological Interpretations of Society*, viz., that this common mental content and these common mental characteristics are realized by the individuals possessing them to be common. In its essential bearings the social mind is not only something objective but also subjective. After all, common knowledge, belief and sentiment exist only in individual minds. Yet they are not the property of any one individual; they are essentially independent of any individual. These common beliefs are a social mind, not only because they are held in common but because of the way in which individuals regard them. They are realized to be common. Being thus realized as common they pass from a static to a dynamic stage. They acquire a new relation to the individual. One must distinguish between the objective and subjective aspects of the social mind or utter confusion will follow.

In a practical way I wish to discuss the relation of the social mind to several very important problems. As social knowledge I want to apply it more especially to the question of Education; as social feeling to the question of the psychologic crowd; as social will to the whole question of public opinion, social conscience and social amelioration. In some respects these divisions are arbitrary but for the sake of clearness we shall use them.

In the process of social evolution men's ideas have been combined into social products. These products have been transmitted from generation to generation. They react upon individuals. They are modified by individuals. In this sense



the social mind would mean the intellectual possession of a race. While it is an open question whether a boy of today comes into the world with any greater mental power, than belonged to a boy in Greece or Rome, there is no question about the superiority of the intellectual inheritance which falls to him after he is born. The generations have left behind them the results of their labors in social knowledge. All this social tradition is so much fixed capital by which the efficiency of the boy of the twentieth century may be vastly increased. Education tries to relate the boy to the social mind, to the ideas which have been wrought out through the centuries. It does this in order that the individual boy may become an efficient member of the society of which he is a part.

There is an old and interesting law which has been newly emphasized in recent times. It is called the law of recapitulation. It shows that there is a parallel between the development of the individual and that of the race. The mental development of the individual is said to be a repetition of the different stages of the mental development of the race. This parallelism does not hold at every point, since there are certain "short-cuts" in the development of the individual mind from which whole stages of the race growth may be omitted. But the parallel does hold true as far as the general trend of progress is concerned. Doubtless every boy must for a time be a young savage and a cowboy. Both the social and individual mind begin with a vague indefinite whole which must gradually be differentiated and then brought together once more in a higher unity. The history of the race mind and of the individual mind go from analysis to synthesis. This is the general law of mental development. If this be true then an educational system may well be based on the growth of the social mind. Such a system would be a gradual progressive development from the imaginative, to the realistic and finally to the reflective; from the mythical, through the scientific and historical to the philosophical mode of observation. So the mind of the race has developed. So the mind of a normal child will



develop. At first everything is a vague unity. Imagination is strong. It is all a world of possibilities. Then the child needs analytic studies that will take apart this vague unity of its life-experience. The sense of reality becomes strong. The end and aim of all true education, however, ought to be a synthetic recombination of scattered knowledge as will bring cosmos out of chaos, and furnish a coherent view of life. The highest type of mind is reflective. It wants to see life steadily and to see it whole. The purpose of higher education ought to be not simply to break up the world into details but to recombine it, provisionally at least, so as to give a young man a definite attitude toward life, a worthy way of looking at the universe.

This is why philosophic studies are so important in higher education. They really prepare men in a very direct way for their social activities. Philosophy and life go hand in hand. In an age when a great deal of restriction is put on the word "practical" and when men want only bits of information which they can put to direct professional use; in an age when men are so impressed with the triumphs of the division of mental labor that education to them means only the systematic development of special skill; in an age which emphasizes the laboratory-method in the search for historical and literary details, it may be well to suggest once more that, after all, higher education which does not incorporate in the individual the highest ideals and aspirations of mankind, fails of its end. The individual mind sees life steadily and sees it whole only as it assimilates and transforms into personality the highest ideals and products of the social mind.

When we consider the social mind as feeling we come to the question of the psychology of the crowd. We must recognize here the subjective and dynamic phase of our conception of the social mind. A crowd in action is a physic unity. There is an influence of the many on the one. When a man is in a psychological crowd certain alterations in personality seem to occur. A man's individuality is diminished. The intel-



lectual part of him seems to recede in favor of the emotional. His suggestibility is increased. He is frequently anonymous and loses a certain sense of individual responsibility. The great authority on the crowd, Le Bon, seems to think that the social mind works automatically, impresses itself by the natural force of the psychic elements producing it. But the element of suggestibility is after all selective, as Dr. Davis well contends. A man in a crowd pays no attention to some suggestions or stimuli while to others he reacts promptly. The criterion of selection is a certain consciousness of what is going on in other minds and hearts. "That understanding of the thoughts, feelings and determinations of his fellows is the active agent in bringing the same ideas to the foreground of his own consciousness, of making him act as others do." Those suggestions which are felt to represent the mental state of others are followed. Now the suggestion substantially alike in the mind of each man representing his sense of what is going on in the minds of others, is "the psychical correlate of the objective action in which all share." So the mind of the crowd would be that bundle of sentiments received by the individuals composing it, and held by each member "with the added consciousness that other individuals in the group are in a similar psychological state."

This principle of the added consciousness is not inconsistent with Professor Gidding's reference of crowd action to spontaneous impulse, in which the instinctive nervous tendencies gain control over the more rational and volitional. He has carefully formulated certain laws that enter into such action. The law of origin is based on the fact that "impulsive social action is commenced by those elements of the population that are least self-controlled." This law is demonstrated in history by the Crusades, the French Revolution, John Brown's raid, the Commune in Paris of '71, insurrections, revivals, revolutions, mobs, riots and uprisings generally. The law of the growth of mob-action is that "it tends to extend and intensify in a geometrical progression." Each individual becomes a trans-



mitter and the intensity is increased because of the reaction of many minds upon one mind. The influences at work are three-fold, suggestion, imitation, and the element of simultaneous consciousness of what others are doing, or feeling, or thinking. This last becomes the active agent and makes the social mind a real dynamic power. As to the law of restraint, only this need be said, viz.: "The only restraint that can hold in check the tendency to mob action is deliberation—critical, comprehensive thinking." This brings us directly to the question of public opinion and its relation to social mind, or the problem of how the opinion of the individual influences the mass, and the opinion of the mass influences the individual.

What is public opinion? We sometimes speak of public opinion as if it were something separate from the opinions of individuals; as if it were the opinion of a higher entity. On the other hand it is at times looked upon as not one but a thousand opinions unrelated psychically. In this sense the public opinion of a country upon any question would be nothing more than the ideas upon the subject held by the citizens of that country. But the point that has been emphasized all along in regard to subjective social mind holds true here, viz., that unless the citizens of a country know that many of their fellow citizens are thinking like themselves, unless there is an "inter-consciousness," there is no public opinion. As Dr. Davis clearly puts it, "opinion is public just because and only when individuals hold the opinion with the added consciousness that others simultaneously hold it." The thing that binds men together in public opinion is not the objective thought which each may hold but it is the subjective consciousness that each has of the other. The dynamic agent is the social mind. A public opinion then must be an opinion to which the members of a public agree not in a merely accidental outward way but in full cognizance that this opinion constitutes a bond of union between them.

Several distinctions must be made. Public opinion concerns matters of opinion, not necessarily matters of fact.



Public opinion does not demand uniformity. Identity of opinion is unnecessary. Only a certain underlying likeness of opinion is demanded. Neither is public opinion the same as popular impression. Popular impression is shallow, fickle, transient, unconsidered. Public opinion has elements of maturity, is earnest, the fruit of time and deliberate thought. Neither is public opinion the same as public sentiment. In the broadest sense of the term, public opinion means three things, viz., a judgment pronounced upon an act as to whether it is good or bad; a sentiment of admiration or abhorrence felt in regard to the act; an action taken by the public, other than manifestations of opinion and sentiment, which shall effect conduct. Public sentiment is usually the product of opinion or judgment, desire the product of sentiment and action the product of desire. The public may have a certain judgment in regard to the trusts, let us say; this leads to the sentiment of outrage, this to the desire for prosecution, and finally to some definite social action.

Mr. Bryce in his classic chapters on "Public Opinion" in the *American Commonwealth* shows that a public makes up its mind in very much the same manner in which an individual makes up his mind. At first there is a rudimentary stage, an impression of the moment. Then follows the sentiment of approval or disapproval, and an expectation of consequences to follow. Then an intercommunication of ideas and an inter-consciousness. Ideas flow in from others whose minds are aroused. In this way the minds in a communicating group become as one mind by a crystallization of diverse but related ideas. Controversy begins between groups. The effect of controversy is to drive partisans to take definite positions. When any new question comes up in art, literature, politics, morals, religion or philosophy there are at once at least two opinions formed. When one becomes the ruling opinion by a rational process of discussion, analysis, comparison, argument and wholesome strife, we say it is public opinion. The remarkable part of it all is how small a part of the view which a



man ultimately holds when public opinion has crystallized is really his own, the greater part of it coming from the mutual action and reaction of the impressions of a multitude of individuals.

There are two things that concern us here. One is the part played by the individual in the formation of public opinion. The other is the influence that public opinion has on the individual, and on social development.

Public opinion does not simply grow. It is made. There are men and agencies who create and lead it. This may be done by conversations and interviews. Diderot said "the work of a small number of men who speak only after they have thought and who form centers of instruction can move nations." Journalism has taken the place of the correspondence of olden days. Mr. Bryce says "Every newspaper fulfils three functions which help to make it an organ of public opinion—it is narrator, weather-cock and advocate." As narrators he acknowledges the American press to be the most active in the world. As advocates they are powerful but are considerably "discounted by the shrewd reader as the sort of thing which the paper must of course be expected to say." As mirrors of public opinion, professed party journals are of little use because from them one cannot tell which views have real popular strength behind them. Of independent or semi-independent journals there are three classes politically: "papers which, like two or three in the great cities, generally support one party, but are apt to fly off from it when they disapprove its conduct, or think the people will do so; papers which devote themselves mainly to news, though they may give editorial aid to one or other party according to the particular issue involved, and papers not professedly political." Nothing is so sadly needed as a press that helps men to think for themselves, and that does not treat men like children expecting them to accept ready made opinions. We need a press which does not present questions of vital public interest from partisan standpoints, suppressing facts and arguments on the one side, and publishing in flaring headlines the facts and arguments



on the other. A paper that will do that is not honest. It will never help in the moulding of independent, intelligent, moral judgment. It lacks that supreme quality which alone gives any organ of public opinion its right to exist.

In effectiveness and power, the platform and the pulpit, especially in more quiet times, are worthy rivals of the press. New York city was aroused to a sense of civic duty by the preaching of Dr. Parkhurst. What shall we say in days of old of men like Savonarola, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox, Whitefield, Wesley, Zinzendorf and in latter times of men like Beecher and Brooks. In the formation of the great moral and religious ideals of a people, the pulpit is still the prophet's throne.

Then too there are the direct efforts made to shape public opinion by societies organized especially for that purpose, reform clubs, civic leagues, good citizen associations. Dr. Jenks in an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* on the "Guidance of Public Opinion" dwells at length on the fact that there is an unusual chance for guiding public opinion in the right way in the United States if any one will take the trouble deliberately to set about the work. It is a duty that lies on all intelligent moral men. He thinks that the very best method of guiding public opinion is by personal contact. One man may exert a large influence in a community by a little judicious talk to a few men of good sense in different classes of society.

As far as schools and colleges are concerned it is perhaps not so much their business to shape immediate public opinion on questions of the day as to help men to think for themselves, to teach men, through insistence on investigation, independent judicial habits of mind.

In regard to the influence of public opinion on the individual, it is interesting to watch its reflex action. How quickly the average statesman and journalist make a compromise between their individual tendency and the general tendency of the average citizen, when they see that they must choose between isolation and a modification of their own views.



It is hard for a man to look upon himself as a hero when the world looks upon him as a wretch. When the pulpit and the press, the caricature and the topical song, the poster and the lampoon, the resolutions of societies and public bodies give vent to their wrath, it is interesting to watch the effect. Opinion is the strongest sanction in the hand of the public. It can bring tremendous pressure upon the individual. It is not as mechanical as law but its stripes are sometimes heavier. It is not as rigid as law but like the pressure of the atmosphere it penetrates everywhere, the recess of the home and the steps of the throne. It cannot be non-suited by a technicality. It is not as expensive as the law nor does it grind as slowly but it grinds just as fine. On the other hand it has its defects as a sanction. At times it is not definite, not proportioned to the gravity of the offence, easily diverted, admits of a shifting responsibility especially in a corporate organization. The danger in the use of public opinion comes from the fact that there may be such a thing as an unenlightened public opinion which "meddles when it ought to abstain and blesses when it ought to curse." The real remedy for all abuses of public opinion is to improve it in character and in intelligence. Here is where the church and the school and the college and the press ought to hang together. They ought to see to it that public opinion is guided by the general acceptance of the principles of law and righteousness.

The individualist may scorn the opinion of the public, but it has a tremendous sanction nevertheless. Flaubert, Ibsen, Nietzsche and all the advocates of the cult of the ego may sneer at the opinion of the crowd and the mass, but the social psychologist is not far wrong when he says that the reaction of his neighbors is one of the most righteous and legitimate restraints to which a man can be subject. "It is not so much the dread of what an angry public may do that disarms the modern American, as it is sheer inability to stand unmoved in the rush of totally hostile comment, to endure a life perpetually at variance with the conscience and feeling of those about him."



Public opinion not only works negatively in the way of constraint but can be consciously used by a discriminating public as a great stimulus to social and moral progress. The social development of the past seems to have been largely blind and instinctive. It seldom appears that men have frequently and consciously sought to control the larger movements of life. True there have been seers and reformers and statesmen but society as a whole seems to have lacked rational self-direction. Ask the average American by what clear rational plan the nation is guided in its economic, social, political and religious development. Would you say that the American people as a people have a rational self-direction as far as the larger structure and movement of the world is concerned? If so, they have been getting it through the larger missionary impulse of the last decade. The fault is not so much that there is self-direction toward the bad, as in the lack of any conscious self-direction at all. A great deal of energy is used up in the advocacy of special schemes each of which is imagined by its adherents to be the key to the millenium. But men are beginning to see more clearly that the social progress of the world must be an advance all along the line.

Social knowledge is increasing on every side. What we now need is the mingling of the moral impulse with all this multi-form social knowledge which is pouring in upon us like a flood. The man who in the twentieth century would really be a force for social uplift whether as seer, statesman, prophet, philosopher, novelist, artist, poet or plain citizen must so throw the force of his personality into the scale for righteousness, that the sub-conscious elements of righteousness in humanity will come to self-consciousness. He must help to mould public opinion into channels of law and right until it becomes a real social conscience based on intelligence and expressing itself in a social will that is determined by placing the weight of the social mind behind the individual mind—to bring into existence a new and higher order of human well being.

LANCASTER, PA.



### III.

## THE INFLUENCE OF SCHLEIERMACHER ON MODERN THEOLOGY.

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To give the influence that Schleiermacher left upon the theology since his day is by no means an easy task and in a brief paper full justice cannot be done to the man and his work. No one since the days of the Reformation exerted such a deep and abiding influence on the world's theology as he did. His system produced a more marked change in the whole sphere of theological life than any other single work in the nineteenth century. Professor Pfleiderer, who is not lavish in his praises of any one, says "that the entire theology of the last half-century, as far as it seeks at all to remain in touch with critical thought, has been in some degree or other influenced by the theological system of Schleiermacher."

He was one of the world's few epoch-making men. He sounded the depths of ethics, philosophy and theology. But we can consider only his works in the department of theology, and even here we cannot go into detail, but must limit ourselves to those subjects in which his influence on modern theology can be most readily seen. Neither do we intend to criticise his faults. His system as a whole is not perfect, but it is enough to say that in the historical development of God's kingdom the errors of the great master were sifted from the elements of truth which lived on in the lives of his followers.

In order to appreciate the man and his work fully, and to see from what a depth of speculative error he lifted our theology, it would be necessary to have a full knowledge of German theology during the latter half of the eighteenth century, but mention of only a few facts can be made here by way of



introduction. Schleiermacher was preceded by an age of soulless rationalism on the one hand and an unscientific and unchristian pietism on the other. The Wolffian philosophy struck the first blow at revelation by making the abstract data of the mind alone sufficient to explain both nature and God. The deists and the French infidels developed a religion of their own with a strong anti-christian tendency, and the followers of Semler, in their too eager search for the historical meaning of scripture, lost its spiritual significance and ended in a system of bald naturalism. Kant was working at a philosophy of religion, but never got beyond a religion of the reason. He, too, found the necessary data for all knowledge, both human and divine, in the mind itself, and so gave the final blow to revelation by leaving nothing to be revealed. Thus at the end of the eighteenth century there was a prevailing disbelief in the supernatural, a general triumph of reason over faith among the educated, and a positive dislike for scripture and Christianity.

On the other hand, the supernaturalists got just as far away from the truth. Man was depraved, God was angry and the relation between the two was altogether mechanical. Without any theological science at all, they accepted the Bible as a book inaffillible in its letter and given by God to man and not through man. The Church as an institution was woefully neglected by rationalists and supernaturalists alike. This was the attitude of the German mind in relation to theology only a little more than fifty years ago.

Today we find these conditions greatly changed in that country. Our present-day theology, which was born there, presents a beautiful contrast to these facts, and we may well wonder what forces were at work to bring about this great change in so short a time. To be true to history we must say that many forces were active in producing modern theology, but the greatest and most original force was embodied in the person of Schleiermacher. He was a man who stood between two ages. He bridged the gap between the rationalism and



supernaturalism of his age and also formed the transition between that age and our age. He was a man endowed on the one hand with the largest sympathy with every department of the intellectual movement and at the same time with a soul kindled with the purest love for Christ and His religion. He was the man God and the times needed.

He published his *Reden* in 1779 to show men the true grounds of religion. In that little book he showed that religion is not a system of dogmas addressed to the reason, that it is not ritual, but a relationship with God that springs from the very depths of the human soul. He made the basis of religion the feeling of dependence which men universally experience in their souls. "Every man," he says "in relation to the natural world, feels a relative freedom and a relative dependence, but beyond that he experiences a feeling of absolute dependence and that is a consciousness of God, the true basis of religion." This was a noble advance in that speculative age when men had lost their sense of God-consciousness. These discourses called many of the cultivated away from their pride in philosophy and their contempt for what was then called religion by convincing them that religion had its ground in the very root of humanity and answered man's deepest needs. This feeling, however, is not the fanaticism of the ignorant or the emotion of the idler, but the natural longing of the heart after its Creator. It is the essential primitive action of the human soul, a feeling innate in man, which unites him with God, and which springs from the constitutional endowment of man in God's image. Man is essentially divine, and religion has its root in his divinely endowed constitution.

These discourses were just what the times needed. In the minds of the educated and skeptical they produced a sense of dependence on the Infinite which they had already long since lost in their proud idolatry of the reason, and they filled the void that had been left in their hearts by the destructive theology of the age. Schleiermacher directed all classes alike to the Christian religion as "The great illuminator in the



heavens and to the human heart as the organ fitted to receive it." The educated classes were unfavorably disposed to religion because they contemplated it only in its outward manifestation which had been perverted by foreign elements, but Schleiermacher turned their attention to their own hearts and their feelings, and thus led them to contemplate religion in its inner essence. The influence on theology of the idea that religion is a communion of sacred feeling between God and man cannot be overestimated. It gave men the right starting-point, and that means much in any system, but especially in a system of theology. The rationalists started with the data of the reason and ended in a purely natural religion, and the pietists began with the facts of the Bible and ended in slavery to a book, while Schleiermacher began with the idea of an innate God-consciousness, a kinship of spirit between God and man.

The immediate influence this little work had on Schleiermacher's age is best expressed by his pupil and warm personal friend Neander, who says: "Those who at that time belonged to the rising generation will remember with what power this book influenced the minds of the young, being written in all the vigor of youthful enthusiasm and bearing witness to the neglected, undeniable religious element of human nature. Schleiermacher had touched the note which, especially in the minds of the youths, was sure to send its melody forth over the land. Men were led back into the depths of their own hearts to perceive there a divine drawing which, when once called forth, might lead them beyond that which the author of this impulse had expressed." As we will notice in the progress of this discussion how theologians have followed more or less closely the course of Schleiermacher's thinking, we will call to mind these prophetic words of Neander, who saw already in this preliminary work an answer to the cry and longing of his age.

The *Reden* prepared the German mind for the reception of the greater work, the *Glaubenslehre*, which appeared in 1821.



German theologians today look to this great work as the foundation of their theology. Dr. Schaff says: "It inaugurates a new epoch in German protestantism, marking a complete annihilation of the shallow rationalism that preceded it and is a near approach to a truly evangelical theology, in which the living person of Jesus Christ, the God-man and Savior, is the soul and center, and the Pauline doctrine of sin and grace the two opposite poles." It is impossible to give the contents of this book in detail, so it must suffice to discuss only those subjects that have affected our theology most vitally.

Schleiermacher brought about a revolution in the conception of the supernatural which has greatly changed our views of *God's relation to man and the world*, of *revelation*, of *inspiration*, of *Christianity* and of the *Holy Scriptures*. In opposition to the view of the deists, who considered God as a pre-eminently transcendent being above and apart from the world, Schleiermacher taught that God indwells in the world; that there is a living spiritual presence of God in the world and in man. This relation is organic and vital. God is related to the world like the spirit of man is related to his body. He is the animating spirit of his whole creation, for the law of order and harmony in the natural world is the spiritual element in it. This has been criticized as pantheism, but it is a pantheism so full of truth that it is void of offence, for the man who studies Schleiermacher will feel that he is near God at every step. The feeling of dependence on some higher power which man experiences is God in his soul. God is felt everywhere, in nature and the soul, but just what God is in his metaphysical nature Schleiermacher does not say. He wisely pauses at this point in his dogmatics. He cannot conceive of God as possessed with the attributes of personality, and consistently with this difficulty he denies the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, which tends to make personal distinctions in the Godhead. He eliminates from his dogmatics everything that would tend to differentiate the being of God, because all such conceptions must limit God as spirit, and that God is spirit is as far as



Schleiermacher got on this subject. This spirit, however, is not mere arbitrary force or will, but rational, loving spirit that is ever working in the world of men and nature. This view of God is the most defective part of his whole system from the Christian standpoint and our theology has wisely cast aside his idea of God, while it has assimilated into its life his noble conception of man's divine imageship. Schleiermacher held that man is essentially divine, and that perfect manhood is the best interpretation of divinity. Such a truth could not fail to be accepted, while his defective view of God was dropped.

The modern new theology teaches with Schleiermacher that man is essentially divine and that humanity, stripped of its material limitations, and perfected and glorified, is altogether divine. Jesus is the undeniable evidence of this great and comforting truth. His humanity glorified was divinity, and yet he said that all we can be like him; not that our humanity must be changed into something that it is not, but that it must be perfected and glorified, and between such a glorified humanity and divinity there is no dividing line to be drawn. This truth was first approached by Schleiermacher and has been adopted, modified and improved by our present theology.

But Schleiermacher felt that the thought of God must control all other thinking, and this, together with the idea that perfect manhood is the best revelation of God, led him to the restoration of the essential Christ in his system, since Christ is perfect man and therefore embodies in human form the fulness of divinity. Schleiermacher reversed the thought of the ages when he went to Christ to find in Him the full exhibition of manifested deity. Since the time of Augustine, theologians generally regarded the life of Jesus in this world as the humiliation of the natural son of God, in whom God's true glory was concealed, and we cannot be too grateful to Schleiermacher for beginning the movement that led us back to Christ to behold in him the character and glory of our God.

I. *The Person of Jesus.*—His whole system, as Dr. Schaff says, "has for its soul and center the person of Jesus, the God-



man and Savior," and it is for this reason more than any other that his theology has left such an abiding influence on the theology of the world. His lofty conception of the person of Jesus is one of the most valuable contributions to the theology of the nineteenth century. In Jesus he found the full exhibition of divinity and of humanity. In him God was present in full measure, for God dwelt in him in all the fulness of his divinity. No one has interpreted Schleiermacher better on this subject than Dr. Fairbairn, who says: "The person of Jesus means that the innermost force whence all his activities proceed is the being of God in him, a divine indwelling so real that his humanity formed only an organism for its operation and realization. His consciousness of God is, therefore, absolute and perfect; a real man, yet so penetrated and possessed of deity that he became the Creator of the race which he is to fill as full of himself as he is of God." When Schleiermacher says Jesus is a real man he does not mean to deny his divinity. He believed that Jesus was the natural son of Joseph and Mary, but not, therefore, any the less the son of God. He was preëminently divine because a perfect man. He was the one sinless man, not because of supernatural conception, but because of a creative act of God which left him his identity with man. His person is the declaration of the original attainment of the human race as unaffected by sin. Thus Jesus embodies the fulness of God, but at the same time stands in organic relation with man, a brother among brothers.

This view of Schleiermacher on the person of Jesus has had a far-reaching effect upon our theology. He went to Jesus to behold in him the full manifestation of God, and theologians ever since have gone to Jesus, not only to learn of God's glory, but also to know his love and character. Schleiermacher never got to God's character from the character of Jesus, but his friends and followers have gone beyond him in this respect and have reached the universal fatherhood of God through the revelation of Jesus. On the other hand modern theology like Schleiermacher sees in Jesus the declaration of the attainment



of man when the hindrances of sin have once been overcome. According to the new theology as given in the *Outlook* for Dec. 29, 1900, "Jesus Christ is conceived of as the ideal or typical man, in whom God dwelt as he will finally dwell in all humanity." This view of our theology, though the same as that of Schleiermacher, might have been reached independently of his influence, but as we shall see presently most of the men who interpreted the person of Jesus were more or less under the influence that came from Berlin.

Schleiermacher not only says that Jesus is the archetype of the human race, but that he also helps the race to attain to his perfection by his presence in his society as a spiritual dynamic and guide. If we think of him, as one who came to this world from beyond space and after having delivered a few lofty moral precepts departed again, we miss the true idea of Christ. To be seated at the right hand of God does not mean that Jesus left this world and is now passively sitting on the right hand of God while the world struggles on unaided. It rather means that he is spiritually present with his people, leading them in their effort to attain to his perfection. Schleiermacher thus had as the central element of his system, Jesus who was the son of God and perfect man, and who in his glorified state is present as a living power in his followers.

This earnest search for the personal Jesus by Schleiermacher marks the most influential epoch in theology since the days of the Reformation. Friend and foe alike must admit that he started the nineteenth century theology in the right direction by going back to Jesus and making him the center from which all else must be explained and studied. It is remarkable how the age caught the inspiration of this movement, especially when we realize that prior to Schleiermacher Jesus had been almost entirely lost in German theology. For a long time nothing had been written about Jesus, and his person played a small part in the theology of the age. In 1821, Schleiermacher began lecturing on the life of Jesus in Berlin and the effects were felt at once. His pupil Neander was the first one



to catch from the master his warm personal love for Jesus, and it forms the life-blood of his writings. Strauss heard the lectures of Schleiermacher on the life of Jesus and took notes for his own contemplated *Leben Jesu*. This work, which appeared a year after Schleiermacher's death, was intensely destructive in its tendency, but as some one put it: "By the noise it made when it fell under its criticism it called to the scene many able and sincere men who continued the search for the personal Jesus." In France the *Vie de Jesus* and in England the *Ecce Homo* pointed out the meaning of the person, message and society of Jesus. In America Channing and some of the New England divines caught the new theme and proclaimed it from the pulpit. About 1864 some of Schleiermacher's friends collected his lectures which he had delivered in Berlin on the life of Jesus and published them. These lectures had been based mostly on the data of St. John's gospel and aimed at pointing out the God-consciousness of Jesus and the unity of his thought, life, and will with the Father. Last in this line came Keim, who diligently and prayerfully wrote a life of Jesus in which he placed Him in a living Judea and analyzed the forces that played upon Him and helped to form Him.

All of these men were directly influenced by the system of Schleiermacher, and a few decades later Wendt, and Weiss, and Beyschlag following the course of these earlier theologians and learning by their errors and weaknesses, gave to the world a fairer and better interpretation of Jesus our Savior. In this country Gilbert, Cross, Clarke, Brown and many others gladly acknowledge their indebtedness to the great pioneer. These latter theologians may not have been influenced directly by the system of Schleiermacher, but his thought had so permeated German theology that in the degree that our American theology has come in touch with the German theology it has been influenced by Schleiermacher. The views of Mercersburg theology on the person of Jesus were influenced by the



teaching of Schleiermacher as the REVIEW of 1871 openly claims; and as Mercersburg had assimilated much of Schleiermacher through Drs. Rauch and Nevin, so Lancaster theology has inherited the vital genius of his teaching through Mercersburg. The result of this activity is that this age knows Jesus better and lives in happier and closer communion with Him than any other age since the time of the apostles.

II. *Christianity, or the Religion of the God-man.*—This brief discussion of the person of Jesus will naturally lead us now to consider Schleiermacher's views of Christianity. He says: "All specific religions owe their origin to some creative idea embodied in some creative person, who realized a new and characteristic consciousness of God, so as to create a society to promulgate its principles." Christianity accordingly can be fully understood only by understanding Jesus himself, to whom it owes its origin and its peculiar genius. It is something supernatural because it cannot be explained nor accounted for from its surroundings. It neither grew from any previously existing religions, nor is it the product of the reason, but it came from God and like all of God's relations to the human conscience it belongs to the supernatural. The results that it produces are supernatural because they belong to a sphere higher than the natural life of man. But, on the other hand, it is also most truly natural, in that it is developed according to the powers inherent in the human race. It is only the highest perfection of humanity and does not transcend the capabilities of the universal Christian consciousness, though in many phases it does transcend the human reason. Here again Schleiermacher advocates the idea that man is in his true essence divine, and that when his humanity has become perfected and glorified he will be equal to all the ideals of perfection embodied in the religion of Jesus. He further says that Christianity corresponds to the needs and aspirations of man as a spiritual being and answers these needs by taking hold of human life and unfolding itself as life unfolds itself according to the laws of historical development. It therefore does



not act upon the subject in an external magical way, neither is it a dogma to which assent must be given, but it is a life. I can best express this by quoting from the *Glaubenslehre*: "Christ is brought like a single individual into contact with the order of history and stands with all his activity and efficiency under the law of historical development which is carried forward and completes itself gradually, spreading over the whole from one point of his manifestation." Christianity then is a principle of divine life, having its origin in Jesus and taking hold of human life, perfecting and glorifying it by a gradual educative and disciplinary process.

One reason why Christianity was held so low in the estimation of the educated classes during the latter half of the eighteenth century was that the Church almost universally had made it a dogma. The Roman Catholic Church not only made Christianity a dogma, but even made its efficiency depend upon apostolic succession. The Reformers cleared away many of the errors of Catholicism, but themselves were not free from the idea that Christianity is a dogma. Calvin's reformation was of an ethical character, but even he failed to free himself altogether of this idea. The pietists of the eighteenth century made it a magical principle, bestowing benefits in a mechanical way, and the rationalists lost faith in it altogether. It remained for Schleiermacher to declare to the world that Christianity is a life; that it is more than a copy made by God for man to observe, more than the Ten Commandments; it is a divine principle taking hold of our lives at every point and drawing forth and nourishing the divinity that is already in us till "we are as full of Jesus as He is of God."

This view that Christianity is in its essence a divine life and that it produces its effects in accordance with the laws of man's being found favorable acceptance at once in Germany and was brought into touch with the theology of all lands by a long line of Schleiermacher's followers. Neander, Ullmann, Lücke, Twisten, Müller, Dorner and Lange, following Schleiermacher, labored to establish his faith. The result was that in



the course of thirty or forty years the chairs of nearly all the Universities in Germany were filled with men who were influenced by Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher's best disciples, animated by his free spirit, and for that reason laying hold of his deep teaching, while not bound to the letter, made a still nearer approach to the Christianity of the gospels, and through these men this view of Christianity has come into touch with modern theology and has become one of its animating principles.

Our theology teaches that the primary purpose of the Christian religion is to give life, spiritual life, abundant life; in short its object is to give us that life that was characteristic of Jesus its founder, and consistently with this view it teaches with Schleiermacher that the Christian religion is not dogma, neither does it teach dogma. It teaches men to think without telling them what to think. At Cesarea Phillipi Jesus asked his disciples "Who do men say that I am?" and then said: "Who do you say that I am?" He did not tell them what to think about himself or about his Father, but he revealed the truth and then led them to think for themselves. This our theology teaches is the purpose of Christianity; namely to make us think for ourselves on "the things above," and thus give us abundant life both intellectual and spiritual. Our theology also teaches with Schleiermacher that the life which Christianity offers, is not a foreign element introduced into our life, but is only a perfect form of the same eternal life that is already in us. And finally our theology agrees with Schleiermacher that Christianity takes hold of our life perfectly in accord with the laws of its development. Like the food we eat sustains our bodily life according to the laws of nature, so the principles of Christianity nourish and draw out the divine life that is in us also in harmony with the laws of our being. Just how much of this conception of Christianity in our present theology came from Schleiermacher directly, or how much of it was reached independently and unconsciously of his influence, no one can say, but every fair judge will say that most of it had its origin in Germany where every theo-



logian of any rank was acquainted with the system of Schleiermacher, and that at least the spirit of Schleiermacher is in it all.

III. *Jesus as Savior.* (1) *Sin.*—This brings us to his conception of sin and the nature of redemption. The sin that constantly crops out in man has its origin not in the fall of Adam or the external instigation of the devil, but in the priority of his sensuous development to his spiritual development, and is therefore the inevitable outcome of human nature as such. The fall of our first parents was only the first appearance of sinfulness and it brought about no alteration of our constitution as originally endowed by God. The old idea of a “status integritatis” and a “status corruptionis” Schleiermacher denied and taught that they were two contemporaneous sides of our nature. He denied the idea of a personal devil to whom all this sinfulness is due and who is ever antagonizing the will and purpose of God, and taught, instead, that sin is a defect in human nature, an evidence of a lower stage of development. That this view of Schleiermacher approximates the view held by modern theology is evident from another quotation from the *Outlook*, which says: “Sin is conceived of as having its origin not in the fall of the first parents but in the relics of an animal nature from which man is gradually emerging, and to which in his wilfulness he perversely clings.” To this it may be added that modern theology, too, lays very little stress on the idea of a personal devil who stands at the head of an organized kingdom, whose purpose it is to tempt God’s children and oppose God’s plans.

(2) *Salvation.*—Schleiermacher, however, considers man in his natural or selfish state as greatly in need of redemption. Man is not only an imperfect being in the sense that a man’s education may be imperfect, for that he can remedy in a degree, at least, himself. His imperfection of soul is different; his God-consciousness is so blunted by the predominance of sense-consciousness that he needs a redeemer who can be none other than Jesus, the God-man. “The redemptive agency



of Christ," he says, "consists in imparting to his faithful followers, through the attractive power which he exerts upon them, that inward consciousness of fellowship with God which in him is absolutely controlling and holds every other feeling in due subordination to itself." Jesus as the teacher of the race is more than a teacher who gives precepts; he is an ever-operating force in the process of salvation, "an impulsive and propulsive being maintaining his society."

The atonement of Jesus he makes the communication to his followers of his own undisturbed blessedness resulting from his filial relationship with God. Jesus did not make atonement in our stead but for our benefit. Christ's suffering for sin he explains in these words: "In every community, in so far as it is a distinct whole, there is as much evil as sin, since evil is the punishment of sin. Now in every case where an individual suffers evil not connected with his own sin, he suffers punishment for others. So Christ entering into our life suffered for the sin of the race." Thus we see that Schleiermacher, unlike strict orthodoxy, does not limit the atonement to Christ's death, but made it co-extensive with his whole life, for during his whole ministry he suffered the consequences of sin that he had not committed, and during his whole life he communicated to the faithful his own blessedness. He, however, says that Christ's sympathy with human guilt reached its highest level in his voluntary sacrifice at the hands of sinners. From these brief statements another quite legitimate conclusion may be drawn, though not expressed in so many words by Schleiermacher; namely that atonement was not made to appease an angry God, especially since the principle of sin is not due to man's willful transgression, but is inherent in his original constitution. Since these are Schleiermacher's premises, his idea of atonement must yield this conclusion: that the atonement of Jesus was not due to God's wrath, which led him to seek satisfaction in the death of his own dear son.

This view of the atonement is now quite well established



among progressive theologians, and especially in Germany, the native land of the master. Modern theology says: "It is a mistake to suppose that Christ's death alone constituted the atoning sacrifice. His whole life was a sacrifice offered for the redemption of men; his death upon the cross was but the culmination of a life of self-immolation" (Spence). The idea that the innocent Jesus suffered instead of the guilty race and that his death was demanded to satisfy an angry God must fall, or the idea of God's fatherhood must fall. Modern theology proposes to retain the divine fatherhood, and says: "Because the Father's heart went out in love toward his children, he sent his son to rescue them from sin."

But how now does Jesus save by his atoning life and death? Schleiermacher claims that the principle of sin must first be destroyed, and this is done by living in communion with Jesus. The sinlessness of Jesus was due to the perfect adjustment of his life to the will of God, and as the believer lives in the communion of Christ's blessed life, evil becomes an ever-vanishing element till no longer felt. Jesus himself overcame sin and punishment by his life of constancy and this inward life of his he imparts to his disciples, and gives them the victory over sin. The sacrifice of Jesus was vicarious in that he was not under obligation to suffer and yet suffered the consequences of sin committed by others, but not in a sense that it was done in our stead, and that we are saved on the ground of that sacrifice. According to Schleiermacher we must undergo struggles and sacrifices like Jesus did, and in that life of constancy sin will be an ever-vanishing power and salvation in process of completion. This process is a gradual one and in perfect accord with the laws of the development of individual and social life. The individual and the race here in this world begin a course of education under a divine instructor, the object of which is not to rescue but to elevate human nature and to destroy the principle of sin by inspiring a life of constancy like that of Jesus, and thus draw out and nourish the divinity that is already in man. Every point of



this educative process is energized by the vitalizing presence of Jesus.

The fairness and the latitude of this teaching should be evident to all. Jesus does not do the work alone. His righteousness is not imputed to man while man's character remains unchanged. Jesus opens the way through sacrifice, suffering and death and man must follow in that same struggle to victory. Modern theology agrees essentially with Schleiermacher on this question of salvation. Dr. Spence, in a chapter on salvation, says in substance, that it consists in following Christ and that following Christ means self-denial and cross-bearing. In that life of constancy and unselfishness the principle of sin is destroyed, death is in so far overcome, and the divine life in us has free course. Lyman Abbott says: "Salvation is character; it is deliverance from sin; it is lifting the man out of the lower life and bringing him into the higher life." Modern theology like Schleiermacher believes that Jesus does most for man when he shows him the way and then lets him work out his manhood and salvation through trial, suffering and sacrifice. We would, however, do injustice to Schleiermacher and to modern theology if we would say that they attribute all or even most of the work of salvation to man. Jesus not only showed the way, but is ever present "as an impulsive and propulsive power in our lives."

This process of salvation Schleiermacher makes universal in extent and endless in its duration. He sees in all men the same image of God, the same life, the same inalienable laws of being, the same innate rights which all governments must respect; in short all are God's children whom he rules and cares for, and, therefore, he has come to the conclusion that the atonement must have been meant for all men, and that Christ redeemed humanity as a whole. He, however, distinguishes between a predestination of all men to salvation as the end of their being and an election which is able to save only a part of humanity because of this world's limitations. In this world only a part of humanity can be saved because



of these limitations, but in the end all will be saved. How this will be accomplished he does not attempt to say, but only says that those saved in this world will ultimately be the means of saving all. Though the theology of our day has not been quite so bold in its theory of universalism, yet it has not failed to imbibe the deep and impartial love of God and the common value of human life that this view implies.

(3) *The Church*.—This process of salvation, however, cannot proceed outside of and apart from the Christian Church. It is in the Church alone that faith can appropriate the blessings of Christ, because the Church is his body and he can act only in his body. In speaking of the relation of Christ to the Church he says: "On the one hand as his organism it stands related to him as the external to the internal, and accordingly it must, in its essential activities, be an adumbration of those of Christ, and that which the Church accomplishes is nothing else than the progressive realization of Christ's redemption in the world." In the Church alone is salvation to be found, because Christ the head can impart his life only to those who are organically connected with him through his body, the Church.

We can best appreciate Schleiermacher's view of the Church when we come to know the low esteem in which it was then held as a means of grace. The rationalists and deists believed in individualism in salvation and accordingly considered organized Christianity or the Church of secondary importance and even as a relic of superstition. Schleiermacher did not believe the Church to be a repository of grace separate from the people, but a holy communion of men bound together by a common love and by a common interest, in whose holy fellowship the human race must be redeemed. There is need of association, he claims, in all spheres of knowledge. The individual cannot attain the highest degree of knowledge and culture when isolated. He can do so only by association with other individuals. So in salvation there is need of a fellowship of kindred minds, and no individual can attain the possi-



bilities of his being without living in the fellowship of the Christian Church in which God's education of man is carried on and where he associates with men of minds akin to his own.

Mercersburg theology is a child of Schleiermacher on this particular point, as the REVIEW of April, 1871, clearly states. A representative of that school says that "Redemption is a part and parcel of the work of the Church from beginning to end and in the divine mind the Church and redemption are one and the same and in temporal reality, they are but two sides from which the one grand fact may be viewed." This liberal view of the Church dates from Schleiermacher, and has been so closely incorporated into our present view of the Church that an exposition of Schleiermacher's view is at the same time essentially our own.

(4) *The Holy Scriptures*.—This brief discussion of the above subjects will help us to appreciate Schleiermacher's views of the Holy Scriptures. The prominence he gave to the Christian consciousness would naturally reduce his estimation of the authority of Scripture which he makes subordinate, (1) to Jesus, who creates the Christian consciousness, and (2), to the Christian consciousness itself, to which Scripture owes its existence. Scripture is the product of the Holy Spirit only in so far as the Holy Spirit is the common spirit of the Church. The spirit bore witness of Christ in apostolic times not essentially different from that of later writings. The Bible is the record of God's revelation of himself in the human consciousness which is bound to the infinite spirit, and which is the only channel through which God communicates his truth to man, and he continually educates it up to its task. This consciousness must become impressed by the truth and inspired by the person of Jesus, and then an intelligent interpretation of that consciousness is Scripture. God indwells in man and man's mind is thus ever in contact with the divine mind and becomes inspired by the truth. The conscience is divinely gifted with power to read what God imparts, and in this organic relation between God and man, God makes his revelation to man. The normative value of the New Testa-



ment for all ages lies in the fact that the apostles' consciences were enlightened more at first hand and more under the immediate impression of a personal acquaintance with Jesus which men later did not have.

The joy with which this view was welcomed in an age when the Scriptures were despised and neglected on the one hand and made an idol on the other, cannot be overestimated! Dr. Farrar says that students from all over the Continent and England hastened to Berlin to behold the great luminary that had arisen there in the department of theology. But they did more than behold him; their souls were filled with the truth and they carried it with them to their respective homes. Schleiermacher convinced these young men that the Scriptures were worth their most earnest and prayerful study. Greatest among those who were thus influenced by him was the learned DeWette, who was associated with him at Berlin from 1810 to 1819. Schleiermacher was then moving the learned world by his lectures and commentaries on the Scriptures at Berlin, and DeWette and Ewald saw the truth of his principles and applied them in modified and improved form in their critical exegesis, and no one can deny the wholesome influence of these scholars on our theology. In the same line, only with a more orthodox spirit, followed Alexander Schweizer and Ullmann, who helped to give to the world the new theology of Berlin and a new Biblical criticism.

Mercersburg again was not behind the times in adopting the new view of the Scriptures. One of her representatives said of the Bible: "There are features here to which it is subordinate and those with which it is coördinate. Now to put it on an equality with the former and elevate it above the latter is to damage the cause of truth." This is an echo from Schleiermacher, as it openly claims to be. The Bible is subordinate to Jesus Christ and coördinate with the consciousness of the Christian Church; to put it on an equality with Jesus Christ and elevate it above the consciousness of the Christian Church is, as Schleiermacher and Mercersburg say, to damage truth. This simply elevates the author above the Book, and by duly



emphasizing the organic coöperation of God and man in its production it also elevates the Scriptures by making the non-essential and irrelevant the human form which embodies the pure word of God. Thus the Bible is a Book given by God to men through men, a Book written on the human conscience and given expression by human agents. How influential this view of the origin of Scripture has been is testified to by the fact that almost all Protestant theologians have accepted it as the only true view.

Schleiermacher also distinguishes between the feeling of dependence on God, which all men experience in common and the distinctive Christian consciousness. The former all peoples experience, the heathen as well as the Old Testament people; but the Christian consciousness owes its origin and genius to the person of Jesus and denotes a great advance in God's education of the race. This led Schleiermacher to assign different degrees of value to different parts of the Bible. The Old Testament he estimates low, no doubt too low, making little distinction between it and heathen literature. The Gospels he estimates as of highest normative value to the Church because they give us the best impression of Jesus, and among the Gospels John's is the "golden gospel." The theology of our day has seen the truth of this argument and no scholar would now compare the ethics of the Ten Commandments with the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, nor the exclusive Jehovahism of the Old Testament with the universal fatherhood of the New, nor the national conception of the Messiah in the Old Testament with the personal Jesus. And in the New Testament the teaching of John and Paul must give way to the teaching of Jesus. Schleiermacher said Jesus is supreme and the age has caught the truth.

Any one familiar with modern Biblical criticism will from this brief discussion see the derivation of many of its principles. Schleiermacher allows a progressive revelation, a gradual evolution of the Christian consciousness under the tutorship of God, so the Old Testament and the sacred elements of heathen literature must yield to the New Testament which



is the product of a more spiritualized consciousness. Many of the unlovely and unethical portions of the Old Testament, which drove the deists to lose faith in it altogether, are easily explained by this view of Schleiermacher, which makes them the expression of men in the early stage of God's education of the race. This historical development in which man is an agent also accounts for the varying types of Christian teaching in the New Testament. Men wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, but yet in accord with their different temperaments and training, and their inspiration did not cast into the background the individual personality, and this Schleiermacher says shows the true catholicity of Christianity, and that Christian fellowship does not depend upon conformity in intellectual apprehension of the truth, but on love and devotion to Christ alone. Biblical criticism shall not try to reconcile these various types of teaching, but simply get at the personality of the individual writer and analyze the external and internal forces that acted upon him and influenced him, and thus interpret his writings. This gives Scripture a higher sanctity and will lead many an honest doubter to accept the gospel of Jesus.

We have now seen that much of Schleiermacher's teaching has become incorporated into modern theology and that his influence is still felt in many sections of thought. The reason why his teaching was so readily accepted was because it answered the needs and longings of the age. In closing I can do no better than quote Dr. Farrar's lofty tribute to the greatest and most original theologian of the nineteenth century. "His faults," he says, "are those of his age; his excellencies are his own. Men caught his deep love for the personal Christ without imbibing all his doctrinal opinions. His own views became more evangelical as his life went on, and the views of his disciples more scriptural than those of the master. Thus the light kindled by him waxed purer and purer. The mantle remained after the prophet's spirit had ascended to the God that gave it."

ALLENTOWN, PA.



## IV.

### THE TRUE PURPOSE OF COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.<sup>1</sup>

J. F. BUCHHEIT, A.M.

*Mr. Chairman, Members of the Board of Trustees, Ladies and Gentlemen:* Upon the formal assumption of one's duties as the executive and administrative head of an institution of learning, it would seem to be appropriate to outline, as clearly as possible, his conception of the real function of the Christian college and to set before his auditors the ultimate object of all education, and especially of collegiate training. Just as the mariner upon the trackless ocean makes careful and constant use of his compass in order that he may reach, as quickly as possible, a definite but distant harbor, so is it necessary for the educator occasionally to take his bearings in order that, with a clear brain and an unfaltering faith, he may direct his work with no uncertain aim toward the ultimate goal of human perfection. The sculptor as he stands before the shapeless marble has already in his mind a definite image of the angel concealed within, and every successive stroke of the chisel from his well-trained hand serves to give expression to the soul-inspiring message which the artist conveys to the world through the perfected statue which at last has come to view. In like manner also the instructor of youth, who works not in cold and lifeless marble but upon living hearts and minds, must see in the crude boy and the uneducated girl, as they stand before him, the almost infinite possibilities that lie within and learn to use the institutional organ and all other means placed at his disposal in such a way as to transform the

<sup>1</sup> Inaugural address of President J. F. Buchheit, Catawba College, Newton, N. C., delivered October 23, 1911.



boy, as nearly as may be, into a perfect man and the girl, as nearly as human limitations will permit, into a faultless woman.

Every successive age in the history of the world has had its own peculiar responsibilities to bear and its own distinctive duties to discharge. Ours, today, are augmented by the rich and incalculable inheritances of the past and intensified by the accumulated force of nineteen centuries of Christian civilization. Just as in the past the progress of mankind was ever conditioned by the amount and the character of education which the people received, so the dominant thought now, as it operates in and becomes effective through our institutions of higher learning, will largely shape our development and determine the character of our civilization for the future. If this be true, it is surely worth while to inquire what education really is and what are the purposes or ends which a college course should serve. If it be true that education in the past has often been without a definite aim, and that the results were unsatisfactory in proportion as the ends were improperly conceived, it is also true that the world is no longer content with the firing of blank cartridges but demands on the part of him who would instruct the young as clear a conception of the final product and as careful a knowledge of the means to be employed to produce it as is requisite in the manufacture of a locomotive or in the building of a Brooklyn Bridge.

So devoid is the popular mind, however, of any well-defined idea of the real significance of education, or of the processes by which it must be secured, and such is the confusion even in intellectual circles that one scarcely has the temerity to attempt an analysis of the subject. Some use the term simply in an abstract sense with no real reference to any definite or practical ends, while others think of education only as an agency for the accomplishment of a material result. A great deal is said about the old education and the new education, classical education and scientific education, philosophical education and technical education, secular education and Christian education.



In addition to all this, we hear much constantly of physical, intellectual and moral education, until in the confusion we almost forget that all education is in essence *one*. The debate is still on between those who insist upon a utilitarian education and those who plead for liberal culture. These conflicting theories and tendencies are struggling today for the mastery and we but poorly discern the signs of the times if we do not discover in this conflict the fierce and perhaps decisive battle between the material and spiritual forces operative in our educational systems.

But even in the absence of any general agreement as to the exact meaning of the term there is, to-day, no other one thing which so engages the thought of the world. Never before was so much attention given to education as now. Never before did governments through their legislatures, churches, through their ecclesiastical bodies, and individuals, through their private munificence, give so much of thought, time and money for the promotion of this great cause as now. If, therefore, there were no other and weightier reasons, considerations of fiscal economy alone, it seems to me, make it a matter of first importance that right views should obtain respecting this all-important subject.

What, then, is involved in the proper education of the youth for the duties and responsibilities of life in the twentieth century? Shall his education be merely intellectual or shall it be cultural? Shall its first aim be material prosperity or moral growth? Shall it fit a man for business or for life? In the past, usually one or another of these several phases has been emphasized. We have now reached a point, however, in the advancement of our civilization when we must insist with ever-increasing emphasis that any system of education is essentially and hopelessly defective that does not provide for every part of man's complex nature and at the same time prepare him for social and economic efficiency.

Education, viewed in this broad sense, is the grandest theme that can claim our attention and the greatest work that can enlist the efforts of our hands. When thus considered it means



nothing less than *the perfection of being*. It involves, in the words of Pestolozzi, the "building up of humanity in the image of God." Its perfect realization fulfills God's purposes respecting man and thus provides the best equipment for complete living. If the emphasis is here laid upon *worth* instead of *wealth* and upon *character* instead of mere *intellectual achievement* it must not be inferred that the latter are despised or disparaged. They are both necessary and indispensable to human progress. We must not forget, however, that manhood must always be placed above matter and that character must infinitely outweigh cunning in any rational system of relative values. That conception of education is warped and distorted which fails to discriminate between the higher and the lower, and becomes positively mischievous when it permits the former to be subordinated to the latter.

Let me not be misunderstood. I would not for one moment disparage technical training, much less would I discount the intellectual element in education. We are living in a material world and in an intensely practical age. Our very bodies are material in character and most of the things with which we deal in this world and upon which our very existence depends are made of tangible stuff. In our present condition and environment it is absolutely necessary to supply the needs of the body before there can be any substantial improvement in the things that pertain to the spirit. Men and women must, therefore, not only be taught *to be some body*; they must also be trained *to do something*. If they are to live a high order of life, they must also be taught to make a decent living. It surely lies within the province of education to do this. Nay, more: I conceive it to be the duty of every college, in addition to the many other things it should do, to give to its students such training as will, directly or indirectly, enable them to exercise a large degree of control over the material things which God has placed at our disposal and compel them to contribute largely to the progress of mankind and the happiness of the human race. The savage can have neither education



nor culture because he has not yet learned how properly to support life. Just as the most luscious apple that ever greeted the eye or delighted the palate was produced by the soil beneath it, so the richest fruits of our splendid civilization rest upon and are conditioned by that surplus of material wealth which can be expended for intellectual and spiritual enrichment.

But this does not mean at all that technical training and the consequent material improvement and wealth are an end in themselves; they must ever be content to remain a means to a higher end. They can never become the marble statue but must ever remain the baser pedestal upon which the statue stands. But if it be true that in the past too much attention was at times given to the purely cultural in collegiate education to the complete exclusion of the practical, that is no longer the trouble now. The pendulum, in our age, has so far swung to the other extreme that the cultural element, which alone is of permanent value, is in danger of being sacrificed entirely upon the altar of a base and sordid materialism.

Full of significance and warning is the statement of a recent writer who has had exceptional advantages for making observations both in this country and in Europe to the effect that "if this overweening tendency toward the purely practical in education continues to assert its overwhelming ascendancy there will soon come upon the stage of action a race of men who know nothing more of God than a threshing machine, and have scarcely more social charm than a storage battery." Too frequently, indeed, is it true that parents in discussing plans for what they are pleased to call the education of their children, reveal the deplorable fact that they estimate their worth in precisely the same terms in which they compute the value of a horse or a cow.

The modern college should strive to secure both culture and efficiency but she can never afford to lend herself to a one-sided development in any direction however important it may be. A narrow unsymmetrical man is not an educated man at all in the true sense of the word; he is simply a de-



formed man. The truly educated man cannot be narrow, because he sees truth in its manifold relations; he cannot normally be sordid or selfish because he has learned to distinguish between gold and goodness and has acquired an abiding sense of his obligation to humanity: "he cannot be cold and unsympathetic, because his emotional nature, his sensibilities and affections have been developed in harmony with his intellectual growth; he cannot be vacillating and unstable, because his will, in regal majesty, occupies the throne and exercises its rightful sway. The completely educated man, in this broad sense, cannot be irreligious because it would be a misnomer to call that education which has left undeveloped and untouched the profoundest part of his being."

If education, then, means "the perfection of being" it involves the development of the whole man,—body, mind and soul with all their manifold powers and possibilities. It is of course true that the building of a strong, healthy and vigorous body is not the chief work of life nor the primary concern of a school or college. There is, however, such a close and vital relation between the physical and spiritual in man that the highest type of mentality and even the most virile forms of morality can hardly be developed without a sound physical basis. This marvelous human body, which, at one and the same time, serves as the abode of the soul and the ready and efficient instrument of the intellect and will is not secular but sacred; it is not to be despised or mutilated as was done in times past by the hermit or the heathen but cultivated, educated and venerated as the noblest material gift of God to man.

Not as an end in itself, therefore, but as a necessary means to higher intellectual and moral ends the body of the student and his physical habits should receive the most careful attention at the hands of every faculty of men and women charged with the responsibility of moulding men and of shaping the destiny of the human race. Every college, whether large or small, should possess, if possible, a gymnasium, adequately equipped for physical culture just as the laboratories are sup-



plied with the necessary apparatus for intellectual instruction. But even this is not sufficient. There must also be ample provision for outdoor exercise under the invigorating, life-giving, soul-refreshing influences of God's pure air and inspiring sunshine. The growing boy and the adolescent girl need more than so many minutes a day of muscular action. The best results require, at least to some extent, a mode of exercise that combines with physical activity the exhilarating element of play. This is invariably supplied through the several games and athletic sports which have come to play so important a part in our modern American collegiate life.

But in this very thing, good and proper as it is when kept within reasonable bounds and conducted for legitimate purposes, we are confronted with problems that require all our wisdom, integrity and courage to solve. While, professedly, athletics exist and should exist as pure sport, play, or recreation after labor done, they are too frequently permitted to become a *substitute* for labor and allowed to degenerate into a gigantic business that requires large funds for its prosecution and employs paid specialists who necessarily infuse the professional spirit into that which is their profession, thus subordinating the real interests of the student to the game, and sacrificing the higher purposes for which the college was founded to what often proves to be a physical victory obtained by fraud. The greatest evil in many of our institutions of learning, both large and small, is no longer infidelity, drunkenness, or immorality among the students; our burning shame today is that we have allowed a wholesome sport to degenerate into a corrupting vice; that teams are padded with hired players, eligibility rules strained and finally broken altogether in an unholy desire for victory at any cost. If the college is to perform her full duty to her students and the public, she must bestir herself, not to kill athletics, but to purify them; not to destroy a legitimate and helpful sport, but to instil into the hearts and minds of the youth, on the athletic field as well as in the class-room, the same high ideals of honor and in-



tegrity that he will need a few years later when he assumes the duties and responsibilities of life.

While it is true, then, that physical well-being forms the basis of all other education, it must be regarded merely as the foundation upon which to erect the more magnificent superstructure of thorough scholarship and a sound morality. A high order of intellectual attainment combined with the perfection of Christian character is the supreme and ultimate end of collegiate education. These results, when fully secured, constitute the ripe fruit of the Christian college. The powers of mind and soul, thus acquired, when actuated by a lofty purpose, energized by an indomitable will, and dedicated to the cause of humanity become a great dynamic force which moves the world onward and lifts the race Godward.

To Aristotle it was not quite clear "whether education is more concerned with the intellectual or with the moral virtue." "No one knows," said he, "on what principle we should proceed—should the useful in life, or should virtue, or should the higher knowledge be the aim of our training?" We are convinced, today, that the right view embraces both character and scholarship. The moral and intellectual elements cannot easily be separated and should never be divorced in our educational methods if a high type of manhood and womanhood is to be produced. The moral and intellectual elements in education are related to each other as the vine to the branch. We cannot confidently hope for a harvest of thought unless there is also a sowing of character. There have, indeed, been a few individual instances of thinkers in whom the intellect seems to have been divorced from conscience. Rousseau, for example, was not lacking in the brilliancy of his literary style, suggestiveness, or contagious influence as an author. But such cases are as rare and exceptional as they are anomalous. A careful investigation of Rousseau's life reveals the sad fact that "it was somewhat less clean than that of the ordinary beast." Such cases only seem to emphasize the real aim of education, namely, *mental and moral character*; not simply



brain power, not simply conscience alone, but character informed and developed by the trained mind and the cultivated heart.

The words of Doctor Votaw, of the University of Chicago, are pertinent here: "We do well to consider," he says, "that the chief shortage in American life today is not an intellectual or a professional shortage, but a moral shortage; therefore our educational institutions need to commit themselves anew to the moral aim, to the moral development and training of the young men and women who throng their halls. The science and art of right living, the theory and practice of human welfare, are entitled to become the main pursuit of all schools and of all persons." It is not the want of intelligence so much as the lack of character, of honesty and integrity that leads the cashier to rob the bank or the politician to betray the people. The search of Diogenes is still too frequently in vain when men are wanted to fill responsible positions in life. If it is the function of the college to supply the world's needs in this direction, more attention should be given than usually is given to the moral element in education.

The moral and spiritual needs of the student are constant, peculiar, and imperative—constant because he is in a transitional stage and in the formative period of life; peculiar because he is in a new environment enjoying, usually for the first time, a certain degree of freedom from parental restraint coupled with erroneous notions of self-sufficiency; and imperative because his habits of life and thought are rapidly crystallizing into a relatively fixed character which will determine his future career and his influence upon society. Statistics show that ninety per cent. of the life-failures among collegians are directly due to moral defects. In that irresponsible region of transition from boyhood to manhood, from the restraints of home-life to the responsibilities of citizenship, the student often finds himself sorely tempted to step aside from the right way and follow the devious and dangerous paths which lead to moral disaster. No matter how well we may



succeed in developing the bodies and sharpening the intellects of our students, unless we succeed also in getting them to adopt right principles of life and conduct, to employ sound judgment, exercise self-control and strive for the attainment of Christian manliness, our efforts must and will be in vain. Whenever the professors in a college faculty become indifferent to the individual life and personal character of their boys and girls, they renounce, in effect, their own proper responsibility, foredoom their college to fatal disaster and send many of their students to certain ruin. On the other hand, when every instructor is thoroughly alive to the individual interests of all his students there can be no manner of doubt that the responsibility of that college to its students as personal entities will be thoroughly recognized and adequately discharged. The welfare of society as well as that of the individual depends upon how we perform this duty.

If man is to reach the highest stage of personal happiness and usefulness, if he is to contribute his greatest possible service to mankind, he must be properly educated. If the home is to be a "paradise on earth," where husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, mutually help and strengthen each other, it will be because the right sort of education, obtained somehow and somewhere, has laid the foundation for it. If the community is to be moral and religious; if the church of Jesus Christ is to grow and to prosper; if there is to be a high sense of intellectual and social responsibility; if pure living, noble ideals, honest enterprise, and the advancement of civilization are to be encouraged and fostered, there must be a sound and correct educational sentiment. If the evils and dangers of political "bossism" and corrupt civil government are to be eliminated; if we are to escape the destruction that has befallen other attempts at free government; if our republic is to stand, our schools and colleges must raise the standard of intelligence and morality through universal education. An absolute monarchy may sustain itself at least for a time by means of its standing



armies, but a free government can survive only when its citizens, upon whom its stability rests, are intelligent and pure.

Nothing less than an earnest desire to assist in the accomplishment of these great purposes actuated the fathers of the Reformed Church in the South in the establishment of Catawba College three score years ago. During her entire history this institution has been true to the ideals that gave her birth, and although comparatively small in size and limited in means and material equipment, she has already rendered a signal service to the church, and to the commonwealth of North Carolina. Today we dedicate ourselves anew, with all the accumulated force and vigor that we possess, to the great cause of humanity. It shall be our constant and unchanging purpose to labor faithfully and earnestly, in season and out of season, to the end that human life may be enriched, that *men* and *women*, in all that these terms imply, may be sent forth into the world with such physical, intellectual and spiritual equipment as will enable them to labor effectively for the extension of God's Kingdom and the preservation of the State.

CATAWBA COLLEGE, NEWTON, N. C.



## V.

### THE WORLD VISION.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

From the time when our Lord Jesus Christ led his disciples out to the Mount of Olives and, before he was received out of their sight, gave them his last command, to the present day, the Church he founded has always had a dynamic obligation as a missionary organization whose members are sent to convey to others the knowledge which came through God's revelation in the person of his only begotten son. The realization of this duty has often been dimmed, but has never been fully lost and now, more than ever before, it is felt. We hear of the evangelization of the world in a single generation and we are taught that it is the business of the whole church to preach the gospel to the whole world.

It is well known that the disciples, about to lose their master, asked him for knowledge as to the future and that he gave no satisfaction to their curiosity, but assured them that they should receive power from the Holy Ghost and should be witnesses to testify of Christ: first at Jerusalem, then in Judea, in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth. This command to go into all nations has therefore, been well called by the Duke of Wellington the "marching orders" of the Church. It will be noticed that the command implies that those who carry it out are not mere paid or ignorant carriers of a message; but they have had an experimental knowledge of their proclamation and that their duty is not to carry, or to bear witness to, a body of doctrine, but to speak of a person, to tell men of a life. How well many of the early church carried out the instructions given them is seen from the fact



that the word which the Greeks used for witness has become our word martyr.

Impelled by the desire to obey this command, the early Christians scattered after the day of Pentecost and carried the news of Christ's life, death, and resurrection to the Jews of the dispersion and then under the leadership of Philip, Paul and others of less fame, turned to the Gentiles. The wide spread of Christian preaching in the first century is attested by the Christians of Southern India, who claim their origin from the Apostle Thomas, and by the legend that Paul even visited Britain. During the first three centuries of our era, the Roman world was so permeated with Christian ideas, by those who spread the new religion, that it was possible for Constantine to make Christianity the established faith of his empire and, in the far south, Abyssinia also accepted the faith about the same time. The sudden absorption of so great masses of pagans seriously damaged the spirituality of the Church and it seemed as though the incursions of barbarians from the north would utterly destroy it. The barbarians however soon yielded to the influence of those who preached Christianity and accepting Jesus as their Saviour added new strength to the Church. From Ireland, where Rome had never gained mastery, went forth missionaries also to preach to the heathen nations of northern Europe, and Germany owes its conversion to these consecrated men. The Anglo-Saxons yielded to the Christian faith, brought them from Ireland and from Rome, and the Norsemen completed the tale of Christian nations of the Roman Church, when they gave up their gods, about a thousand years after Christ. Meanwhile the expansion of Christianity had encountered the severest blow ever dealt it, in the rise of Mahommed and of the faith called by his name, which eventually wrested from the Church the whole of Northern Africa and imposed a Mahomedan yoke upon the eastern or Greek half of the Church; while it threatened for a time from its vantage point of Spain, to overrun all of western Europe. The endeavor to check this in-



rushing tide led not only to a pressing of the Moors back, until they were forced out of Spain; but also to a whole series of combats between Christian and Mahommed nations, the most conspicuous of which combats we call the Crusades. The Eastern Church, meanwhile, had converted to its obedience the Russian people.

When the New World was discovered and the East unveiled, one of the motives which fired the European nations with a desire to possess these strange lands was the conversion of the natives to Christianity. "Ad majorem gloriam Dei" said the Jesuit: for the "spreading of the knowledge of our most holy faith" said the Protestant and they both meant it, to a much greater degree than one is apt to suppose. Xavier died on an island off the coast of China and the self-denying work of the Roman Catholic missionaries linked to the dauntless courage of the Conquistadores, led to the Christianization of Filipinos, Aztecs, Toltecs, Peruvians, and many other South American tribes in the sixteenth century. The brave labors of missionaries of Rome among the Iroquois, the Chinese, the Japanese and other non-Christian nations in the same century cannot be forgotten.

Protestant missionary effort was later, as was somewhat natural; for, at the first, the effort to carry to other Christians what was believed to be a purer form of religion occupied all the Protestants' efforts. In America, however, at an early date, John Eliot became the apostle to the Indians, and, although many vicissitudes prevented his full success, yet the settlements of Mashpee and Edgartown, with their Christian Indians, still remain to testify to the partial success of his efforts and those of the Mayhews. In the eighteenth century, the work of Brainerd among the Delawares, Jonathan Edwards at Stockbridge, Wheelock in New Hampshire, and Kirkland among the Oneidas showed that the impulse to carry the gospel to the aborigines was never forgotten. In Europe, the torch of missions was first held aloft by the Moravians, who, following their devout leader, Zinzendorf, chose out the



most neglected and the lowest of races, with such success that now their membership in their churches in Europe and America is about 40,000, but in the foreign field 100,000. Others too, in the early eighteenth century felt the impulse of the call for world evangelization. To the Danish settlement of Tranquebar in India went Ziegenbalg and Schwartz and Hans Egede left Norway in 1712 for an attempt to Christianize the Eskimos of Greenland. Yet the Protestant world was scarcely stirred in the subject of missions, before the days of Carey and Mills. Carey, who had started in life as a shoemaker and had become pastor of a Baptist Church in Nottingham, England, was convinced of the importance of heralding Christ throughout the world and of his own duty to take an active part in the work. He preached a sermon to his congregation in 1792 from Isaiah LIV. 2 and 3 ("Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitation: spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes. For thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate places inhabited") and gave this stirring watchword: "Attempt great things for God, expect great things from God." He followed this by going himself to India, where he showed remarkable linguistic gifts and did much in the way of translating the Bible into the languages of that country. Shortly after the sermon of Carey the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804. The American Bible Society was founded in 1813 and the Scotch one about the same time. These organizations have worked hand in hand with the missionaries on the field and, through this coöperation, the number of languages and dialects into which part or all of the Bible has been translated has increased from about 30 in 1800 to about 450 at the present time. Another missionary institution of great importance was founded in 1792 when the Warwick association in England voted to set aside the second Monday of each month for a monthly concert of prayer for missions. Thus was originated the Missionary Concert, which has been



of great value in arousing the churches to their duty and informing them of conditions in the field. In the United States the great impulse to a forward movement came from the haystack prayer meeting at Williamstown in 1807. Samuel J. Mills and four other undergraduate students in Williams College went for a walk one afternoon, and, caught by a thunder shower, sought refuge under a haystack. While waiting for the storm to pass over, they began to talk of the lost condition of the heathen, prayed for their conversion and vowed that, if the way should open, they would go themselves to preach Christ to lands which knew him not. There was no Society under which they could work and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized to send them to foreign parts. The first party of five men was sent to India in 1811. On the long voyage, Adoniram Judson and another one of the party became convinced that immersion was the proper form of baptism and left the others to work in India, while they labored in Burmah and the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society was organized to support them. One denomination after another took up the subject and formed mission boards, so that foreign missions speedily became a part of the work of each branch of the Church.

In 1819 Dr. John Scudder was sent out by the American Board to Arcot and in 1834 Dr. Peter Parker was sent by the same board to China. From these beginnings came the great enterprise of medical missions. It was recognition of the fact that the work of foreign missions was not limited to evangelization, that it was not enough to tell men of Christ, but that a "Christian atmosphere," to use Dr. Arthur H. Smith's apt phrase, must be created in heathen lands. In addition to the work of medical missions, with their inestimably valuable dispensaries and hospitals, alleviating human wretchedness and bringing many men to hear of Christ, who would come to the missionary in no other way, the mission stations have found it advisable to include in their scope the establishment and maintenance of schools, from the most elementary primary ones to



the college and theological school. It is necessary to create a Christian community and to give it educated leaders so that the native church be not a parasitic growth, but may have power to maintain an independent, self-sustaining existence.

In fact, one of the great gains of the nineteenth century in missions has been a more accurate knowledge and comprehension of the true meaning and scope of the enterprise. Not only is the scope better understood, but methods have been standardized, so that there has been obtained a wealth of information as to the best way to accomplish the purpose of bringing the world to Christ. Tools are also ready to the worker's hand. In most languages, the Bible has been translated, at least in part. In many countries hymn books and other religious works have been provided. Helpers are furthermore at hand. The earliest missionaries almost everywhere went into a hostile or wholly indifferent community and there they were forced to obtain such quarters for living and such hearers as they could. Now, in almost every large city, and in every land, there is a native church and a mission house or compound, while the elder missionaries are ready to give advice and aid to the newcomers. Another vast gain, achieved during the nineteenth century, was the opening of the world to missions. At the beginning of the period, China, Japan, Korea, and the Mahomedan world were sealed and even the British East India Company resented the appearance of missionaries. One part of the world was opened after another and the quick communication between various parts of the world has also removed much of the isolation of the life of the early missionaries. Two stories illustrate this. In 1819, the first missionaries were sent to the Hawaiian Islands and, going by Cape Horn arrived there some months late. Three years subsequently, a second party was sent out and Mrs. Judd, one of them, in her autobiography, tells how they arrived at Lahaina, at a time when the members of the mission were assembled there for their annual meeting. After they had exchanged the most cordial greetings, the ladies sat down and altered the



clothes of the ladies of the first party, which were still of the fashion of 1819, to a later pattern—albeit one which had doubtless changed at home, while the second party had been rounding Cape Horn. Such was the isolation of those times, with its annual mail brought on a whaling vessel. Today, a friend in inland China says to me: I can order by mail almost anything I want from Montgomery Ward & Co., in Chicago, and have it delivered to me. It was not long before it was found that there was need of missionaries, not only where “the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone,” but also where the type of Christianity was of a less enlightened and spiritual character. Thus the American Board began missions to the Oriental Churches as early as 1820 and, about 1870, when Roman Catholic countries were opened to a religious toleration, there were similar missions established in Mexico, South America, and Southern Europe. Of a like character is the well-known McAll Mission in France. The missions to nominally Christian lands sometimes, at first, have tried merely to vivify the national church; but have, invariably, found it necessary to establish a Protestant community. Their success however, is not to be measured by the number of Protestants made, for the very important improvement in the mental and moral condition of Romanist, Gregorian, or Armenian Christians must often be attributed, in large measure, to the stimulation received from the presence of the missionary.

There is not a country in which we can not point to a consecrated and able missionary life during the past century and the annals of this new chapter of the history of the faith of those modern apostles would equal in interest the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the Far North, I have known J. F. Cross, a jolly, witty fellow who used to play first base on our college baseball team and who spent years with the Eskimos in Alaska, shut out from all news from home during the entire winter. He did this, after he had spent other years in Dakota, preaching to the Sioux. At Metlakahla, William Duncan has made of the fierce Tsimshian Indians a peaceful law-abiding



community, a visit to which proves the value of missions. In the Oceanic Islands, the labors of the elder Bingham, Titus Coan, and their associates in the Hawaiian Islands, of John G. Paton in the New Hebrides, of John Williams in Samoa, of Chalmers in New Guinea, of the younger Bingham in the Gilbert Islands are worthy of mention, even in so hurried a sketch as this. I saw the last-named, a wonderfully tall, gaunt man with white beard and an eye like a Hebrew prophet, shortly before he died. It was his heroic privilege, alone of all men, to find a people without an alphabet and by his unaided efforts to provide them with grammar, dictionary and the entire Bible in their language. In China, from the days of Robert Morrison, the first missionary, who labored ten years without a convert, to the present, when every province has its native Christian churches, the tale of men like Ingle and Pitkin is large and honored. The pioneer missionary to Japan, J. C. Hepburn, who went to the East about 1845, died in September, 1911, and his English-Japanese dictionary is still the authority. In Mongolia the splendid labors of James Gilmour are well remembered. India saw the fine work of John E. Clough among the Telegus and, on the adjoining island of Ceylon, Eliza Agnew, with her school for girls, was one of those honorable women not a few whose labors have done much for the advancement of the kingdom of God. Another like worker was Fidelia Fiske, whose work among the Nestorians in Oroomiah, Persia, is most noteworthy. In Africa, Lindley among the Zulus, Mackay, Pilkington, Hannington among the Waganda in Uganda, Coillard in Bashutoland, Moffett among the Hottentots, and, most of all, Livingstone, may be singled out for mention. Samuel Crowther, the negro slave-boy who became Bishop of the Niger, is one of the many proofs of the vigor of the native church. The time has failed me to tell of the work of Jessup, Post, and Bliss at Beirut, of Barnum at Harpoot, of Riggs and Hamlin (with the latter's Robert College) at Constantinople, of Zwemer and Keith Falconer in Arabia, and of the wonderful work of Dr. Goucher who, stay-



ing in Baltimore, with statesmanlike foresight planned and financed Missions in Korea and India. The success of missions anywhere is not to be measured by statistics, for it is certain that many secretly believe in Christ, but dare not confess him publicly and that many more have had their lives influenced for the better by the missionaries to an extent they scarcely realize. Yet, even by the test of numbers of converts, missions have succeeded. There is yet much land to be possessed. The masses of the population in every great heathen country are still heathen and, except in Korea, there seems to be no immediate prospect of their conversion; but the future is not only bright as the promises of God, but also with that brightness which comes from the assurance that the successes of the past may be expected to be repeated with renewed efforts. Not only so, but the men brought to Christ by the missionaries have stood all sorts of tests and, for the most part, have stood them well. Unbelieving Europeans have sneered at "rice Christians," not realizing the force of character needed to break away from family and friends. Some of these converts have failed in time of trial, but enough have won a crown of martyrdom to enable one to say confidently that in the lifetime of those who now live, more men have sealed their testimony of belief in Christ with their blood than in all the first three Christian centuries.

Of incidental benefits of missions, both to the country sending the missionaries and to that receiving them we can say little, but may advert to the increase in trade and commerce, the spread of new inventions, the use of improved methods of agriculture that have been by-products of this great movement. The basis of the argument for missions has somewhat shifted. Christ's command must ever be the central thought to every true Christian, but the argument formerly associated with it, that it is the duty of the Christian to save men from the torments of hell, has been less pressed of late and has been succeeded by a pressing of the claims of human brotherhood, the desire to save men from misery in this life, the duty of every



altruist to spread the news of that which is best to all men, the shameful selfishness of keeping from any one the knowledge that Christ came into the world to redeem the world from sin.

With the work of foreign missions came strength to the movement towards the unity of the Christian faith. In face of the appalling masses of the heathen world, and of the great need which these men have of the gospel, denominational differences do not loom up large. In face of the vast work to be done, it is doubly important that none of the force be wasted. So missionaries have come together in conferences—national like those at Shanghai in 1877 and 1907 (to celebrate the centennial of missions in China), or ecumenical, like those of New York in 1900 and Edinburgh in 1910. It is interesting to notice that a continuation committee, appointed by the last-named conference, has recently met at the invitation of the Bishop of Durham. From the work of such committee, we may hope for great benefit in many ways. Of late years, many influences in the United States have been used to arouse interest in foreign missions. The Students Volunteer Movement has banded together those who have heard a call to give their service to God in the foreign field. The Young People's Missionary Movement, now to be called the Missionary Education Movement, by conferences at Silver Bay, by publications, and by mission study classes, has endeavored to arouse an intelligent interest and to give needed information, where interest has been aroused. The Laymen's Missionary Movement, dating its origin from the centenary of the haystack prayer meeting, has, by conventions and by urging the establishment of a missionary committee and of systematic weekly giving in every church, stimulated interest and caused it to bring forth fruit. By travel, many have been able to see foreign lands, to ascertain at first hand how greatly the heathen need the gospel of Christ, how much the position of women and of defective classes (such as the deaf and blind), of neglected classes (such as the old, the poor, the sick), can be improved by Christianity. These visitors have had the opportunity to see, close at hand,



how important, how well planned, how successful has been the work of the missionary. A desire for greater definiteness in relationship with the missionary work has led many churches and even individuals of wealth to undertake the support, under the foreign boards, of individual missionaries or of a definite town or region, as a parish abroad.

Ancient history was well called that of the Mediterranean basin, mediæval history was that of the continent of Europe, modern history was that of the Atlantic ocean and the lands bordering on it. What we have called modern history came to an end in the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Pacific Ocean and the lands bordering on it came fully into the field of those nations which previously had held the stage by themselves. We think in terms of the world, we find that world grows smaller. A generation ago, "Around the world in eighty days" was a bold conception. In 1909, a letter was mailed to me from Paotingfu, China and, going across the Pacific Ocean reached me in thirty-one days. On the same day on which the letter started, a man left Paotingfu, going over the Trans-Siberian Railroad and mailing me a letter from Liverpool, which I received in thirty days after he left Paotingfu. Thus the world was girdled by those letters, which were not especially expedited, in sixty-one days.

The world is so closely united now, that we feel the strength of the saying: "No man liveth to himself." We feel the yellow peril and we are told by Sir Robert Hart, who knew the Chinese better than any European living, that the Christianization of China is the only way to avoid it. We learn of the excellencies of the ethnic religions, but we find them infinitely below ours in the elevation of character and in the power to make men better. None can forgive sin but God alone and their conceptions of sin and of God are hopelessly inadequate, without the revelation which we can give them. These men when they accept Christ become his faithful disciples and, year by year, through missions we approach the glad time when the knowledge of the Lord Jehovah shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.



At the present time, there is an especial crisis and a more urgent duty than in the past years. The Orient is in a state of flux. The opportunity in China, Japan, and Korea is great, because of the unrest and change in their social and political life. There is pressing need that we give our best thoughts to this problem now and that our acts follow our thoughts. If the opportunity be now seized, Christianity may become dominant in the East, if this opportunity be lost, the delay may be one of generations, for if the new institutions of these Oriental countries be cast in non-Christian lines, it will be exceedingly difficult to have them recrystallized. This generation is the one to which we owe our duty and that duty is a great one. A great "plant" has been established in the last century, it is for the men of this century to determine whether they will operate it so as to attain the highest efficiency, by providing adequate supply of men and money. It is our duty to have the world vision and to follow it.

BALTIMORE, MD.



## VI.

### THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS AS AN ETHICAL NORM FOR TODAY.

JOSEPH M. NEWGARD.

It is a live question today whether we can use the teachings of Jesus as the standard for our ethical life today. To some such a question is absurd. They will say that if we wish to be loyal to our religion, if we live according to our profession, we can do nothing else but live according to the words of him who is our Master. Unless we do that we are not worthy of bearing the name Christians. To such people those are hypocrites who call themselves Christians, but do not strive to put into practice the literal words of Jesus. On the other hand there are those who maintain that the teachings of Jesus have no bearing whatsoever on our life today. They say that Jesus taught for his own age, but that there is nothing found in his teachings that will bear on our life today. Some even go so far as to say that the principles of Jesus can not be used as the bases of sound ethics today. Systems of ethics are propounded today which give no place to the teachings of Jesus, nor to any principles which may be found underlying those teachings, or which may be deduced from them.

In this paper the attempt will be made to show that the teachings of Jesus cannot be taken literally for our ethical standard today; but that underlying these teachings there are certain principles which will have to be used as the basis for our ethical standard today, because they contain the eternal verities which govern a righteous universe. Only the teachings of Jesus as found in the Synoptics will be referred to. The problems of authenticity of any part of those teachings will not enter here. That is the work of the New Testament



scholar. The American Revised version will be used, and the question of the translation of any passage will not be touched. The paper is not supposed to be anything like exhaustive, but it is only to give an idea where the writer stands on the question, and why he takes this position. No system of ethics will be considered, and only allusions will be made to such as may prove or disprove a certain point. The connection of Jesus' teachings with the past will first be taken up. Then how his teachings were given, why they are not applicable to our day, and lastly the wisdom of Jesus in giving, not an ethical system, but a principle of life, and what that principle is.

There are those who say that Jesus brought nothing new into the world. They say that Christianity is only a completed Judaism. All the teachings of Jesus, they say, can be found in the Old Testament. We will grant that Jesus gave no new rules of life. It is true that nearly, if not entirely, every teaching of Jesus is found in the Old Testament. Why do we then look to Jesus as the guide of our life? The uniqueness of Jesus does not exist in the fact that he gave a new moral code, but in the fact that he lived a life which embodied those ethical principles which are found in the Old Testament. And not only in the Old Testament are teachings found which correspond to those of Jesus. We often hear and see comparisons made between Christianity and Buddhism. In many of their moral teachings they are similar. The old Greek philosophers had teachings like those of Jesus in their systems. No, Jesus gave us no new teachings with regard to morality, but he was the first and only one to embody those teachings in a life.

Jesus used the teachings of the Old Testament. He received his inspiration, as well as his teachings, from them. But he did not use them as a law. He was not bound by them. He took the principles which they embodied and expressed them in his own teachings, as well as lived them in his life. In the "Sermon on the Mount" he takes a few of the commandments of the Decalog and gives the basic principle of them as his



teaching. For example he takes the commandment "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and instead of making it merely an external law he goes to the cause which breaks this law. He strikes at the root of the evil. He would make the heart, the desires, right, and there would be no need of the law. Who, indeed, would say that Jesus meant that anyone should literally pluck out his eyes? Tolstoy held that in the fifth chapter of Matthew Jesus gives us five new commandments which displace the old Jewish law. If this is so, what does Jesus mean when he says, "Think not that I came to destroy the law, or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil?" No, Jesus did not give us a new law which displaced the old; he gave us a new life which embodied the principles of the old law. If Jesus came to give us a law, why did he not live by the old law? He used its teachings, why not live by it? He did not live according to a fixed law, would he impose one upon us? We cannot think so.

But if Jesus had wished people to live according to a definite ethical code, why did he condemn the scribes and Pharisees so severely? Here was a class of people who lived according to rule. They had worked out a system which was supposed to bring every act of their life under a rule. These people were sincere. They had not worked out their system and then cast it aside, not trying to live according to it. They tried to guide their life by their system. And their system was based on the Old Testament law. If Jesus wanted a life guided by a set of rules why did he not become a Pharisee? His teachings are not so radically different from those of the Pharisees. Did he simply try to set up a system of ethics in opposition to what he found we must declare him a fanatic, one who desired to set up a system for his own glory. He did surely not make much of an advance if he supposed that his teachings should be used as a rigoristic code of morality. Besides Jesus told the multitude to do whatsoever the scribes and Pharisees teach them to do. Could he have said this if he wished to oppose an ethical system to theirs? No. Such a teaching would have been detri-



mental to his plans. He would have had to refute their system. But Jesus did not wish to propound an ethical system. He only desired that men should live according to the ethical principles which lay at the bottom of the Pharisaic system, and not blindly follow the outer rules. Jesus made use of the past. He did not destroy it. But he taught the living principles which are productive of life, and which lay at the base of the Old Testament law and the Pharisaic code.

As Jesus did not destroy the law so he did not give his teachings as a definite system. His teachings were nearly, if not entirely, all occasional. That is, that he only gave his teachings as some case was presented which called them forth. The question is with regard to the "Sermon on the Mount." According to Matthew this appears as though it were meant as a definite code. But when we look at Luke we find nearly all the teachings found in the "Sermon on the Mount" given as occasional teachings. Thus the "Lord's Prayer," which according to Matthew is found near the middle of the "Sermon on the Mount," is recorded by Luke as given by our Lord after the transfiguration and after the return of the seventy. The occasion for it was the request by one of his disciples, Jesus having just finished praying himself, that he should teach them how to pray. Again the passage about worldly anxiety found in Mt. 6: 25-34, a part of the "Sermon on the Mount" is found in Luke 12: 22-31. And by the latter Gospel it is related as being occasioned by the request from one of the multitude that Jesus should bid the brother of this man to divide his inheritance with him. Other illustrations could be given, but these are sufficient to show that very likely the teachings found in the "Sermon on the Mount" were given as occasional teachings, and at times in Jesus' life, widely separated; and that they were collected and placed together by Matthew. We must therefore conclude that even this "Sermon on the Mount" was not taught by Jesus as a system, and that he had no idea that his teachings should be thus collected.

Having concluded that Jesus gave no system of teaching,



we may ask what does it mean when we say that his teachings were occasional? It means that each case was treated as it came up, according to its needs. The teaching applicable to the case may have a principle lying back of it, but the teaching itself cannot be made an ethical standard. The teaching would only apply to such a case. The case would have to be identical with the one Jesus treated. And who is to judge its identity. Even Jesus appears to contradict himself in treating different cases. Take as an illustration the words of Jesus recorded in Luke 14: 26, "If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." Here it seems as though Jesus would approve of a man who would not care for his father and mother. He seems to laud the man who would despise his parents. But when the young ruler came to him to ask how he might gain eternal life, Jesus points out to him, as one of the necessary things to do, that he should honor his father and mother. And in Mt. 15: 4-9 we have the account of Jesus berating the Pharisees for allowing a man to make a gift to God before he cares for his needy parents. Now are not these teachings contradictory? If Jesus intended to give us a code of ethical laws we must say yes. But since his teachings were occasional we say no. He no doubt saw some in his audience when he gave the first teaching who needed teachings which seem to us to strike at the very foundation of filial piety. But no matter how contradictory these teachings sound, yet Jesus could give them on the basis of love to God and man.

Again take the example of the Gerasene demoniac, the cleansing of whom is recorded in Mk. 5: 1-20, Mt. 8: 28-34, Lk. 8: 26-40. The man, after he had been cured, besought Jesus that he might be allowed to follow him. But Jesus forbade him and told him to go to his own home. But when one of his disciples (Mt. 8: 21-22) asked Jesus to be allowed to go to bury his father before he follows him, Jesus told him to let the dead bury their dead and to follow him. Here again we



see how Jesus treated two cases very differently. In fact the one the very opposite from the other. It was a treatment of the individual case. You may say that here there is no teaching of Jesus. Grant it. But it shows the method of Jesus. He did not try to give his teachings and precepts as a law. He treated each case as it presented itself and according to its needs. He did not conform his own acts to a set of rules and regulations. Would he require his followers to conform their acts to a set of rules? Can these teachings be formed into a definite code of ethics? When we fully realize that these teachings were occasional we see that they are no system in themselves. Besides, no system has yet been formed which included all the teachings of Jesus. And it is hard to believe that a system *could* be formed which would include all his teachings. We may get a system based on some principle used by Jesus, but since his teachings were occasional we may feel certain that he did not mean that they should be embodied in a system. And we may feel as certain that it is impossible to embody them in a system.

But even if the teachings of Jesus could be all included in a system, it would not be practicable for our day. In the first place we must consider that Jesus had different problems to contend with than those which confront us today. Take for instance the condition of the State at that time. We have very few teachings of Jesus as to the political State. And what we have would almost seem as if Jesus meant that we should acquiesce in whatever political condition we found ourselves. He gives nowhere any intimation that we should try to reform the State and therefore there are those who would hold aloof from political affairs entirely. There no doubt was a reason why Jesus did not give more teachings about the State. Had he in any way spoken anything derogatory of the Roman government he would have been instantly put to death. Had he spoken in favor of it many Jews would not have heard him. Had he taken either side an end would have been put to his work before he had accomplished it. Besides the Jews were



at this time looking for a leader who should institute a political revolution. To such a Messiah they would have rallied; as we see they did a little later when Simon bar Kohba announced himself as the Messiah and instigated a political insurrection. But this would have led the people away from the more vital things which Jesus came to reveal. His mission was to reveal "The Father." And to do this fully it was necessary that he should in no way engage in a political and social reform. But this does not necessarily imply that Jesus meant that we should keep aloof from politics or social amelioration. He no doubt desired that his principles should be applied to the State as well as to the individual. But our system of political ethics, which would be practicable today, cannot be gotten from the teachings of Jesus in so many words.

In addition to this Jesus was not confronted by our complicated social life of today. No corporations existed without a conscience or a soul. The problem of wealth was not as complicated for him as it is for us. Modern philanthropy and charitable institutions were not known to him. Would it be possible for a man today to sell all and follow him, and still keep his personality? Did even the serious problem of family life present itself to Jesus which confronts us today? The teachings of Jesus would say that we should have no divorces. But does Jesus mean to say that a woman shall today be compelled to live with a drunken husband and undergo a veritable hell on earth just in order that his words may remain our ethical standard? The modern liquor and saloon problem did not claim his attention. Again Jesus says "Judge not." Does this refer to the justice meted out by the State? So Tolstoy thinks. But would it be possible to put away with our law courts today? Many other questions beside these confront us today as they did not confront Jesus. We are asked to solve problems today on which we have no teachings of Jesus; others have so changed since his day that it is impossible to follow his words literally.

In the second place the teachings of Jesus are not exactly



applicable to our day because his "Welt-Anschauung" was different from ours. He lived in the old Jewish world which was geocentric. His world was peopled with angels and demons. And he very likely shared the current view of a speedy establishment of God's reign on earth. Some may take objection to this last idea. I know that some of his parables show that he knew that the kingdom would be established slowly. But throughout his teachings he seems to be preparing the people for heaven. His ethics are such that they have for their goal a future life. Today we too prepare for a future life. But the chief aim of our ethics today is to make men able to live in this world. Angels and demons have gone from our world-view. We no longer look for any cataclysmic coming of Christ, but we look for a gradual and continuous coming. Therefore there are *some* words spoken by Jesus, as recorded by the Synoptics, which can not possibly enter into any ethical system today.

And in the third place the work of the Holy Spirit would find no room in history if we should make the teachings of Jesus our ethical standard today. When Jesus was about to depart from the disciples he said, "But the Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things." And again, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Jesus here implies at least that his disciples shall comprehend the truth more fully as they grow older. But does it not mean that they shall only more fully comprehend his teachings? No, he says, "I have yet many things to say unto you." And if even the disciples were to learn more truth, shall not we, after nineteen centuries have passed, know more truth than Jesus gave? If his system came full-fledged from his lips, then there is no use of having a Holy Spirit working among men. Then all we have to do is to put his teachings into practice. There is no hope of advancement in the human race. God's Spirit is then not with man, leading him into truth. There is no room for it. No advance has been made through the ages. We are



then where the first Christians were. But surely no intelligent people would believe this. All Christians will say that the Holy Spirit has been working among men. And if so, he must have taught us deeper and richer ethics.

If then Jesus did not intend to give an ethical system, and if his teachings cannot be used literally as the norm for our ethical life today, of what value are his teachings? They have a principle underlying them which is one of the eternal verities; and this is what is of value today. The reason people try to make the teachings of Jesus into a law is because they do not wish to make the venture to guide their life by a principle. There is no doubt that it is easier to live by some definite norm, than by a principle. Some people are afraid of themselves, and so they wish to guide their life by a set of rules and laws. Others are afraid of their fellow men, and so they desire that they should have a set rule by which to guide their life. And some there be who think that if Jesus was God it could be no otherwise than that he gave us a code of ethical laws which must stand for all time. Such people either do not have faith in man, or else they do not wish to take the trouble to live by principle. It is hard work to live by principle. Every single act must be decided on its own merits. It does look as though a man were on a stormy sea without a rudder to his boat. But when the heart of man is guided by a principle it becomes a safe and secure anchorage. Such a life is what develops personality. Jesus saw that a man can only come to the highest personality if he lives, not by a set of rules, but by a principle.

Paul also saw that a life governed by a set of laws could not attain to the highest personality; as we know when he says, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." A fixed definite code of laws certainly kills the advancement of life. We see this when we look to the old Jewish scribes and Pharisees. The reason they were so narrow and bigotted was because they tried to regulate the entire life of a man by a set code of laws. There was no place for the active working of



the spirit. That was why Jesus berated them so severely. We see the same thing in the Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches. They have a set code of morals. But where is the life? People will outwardly try to conform to the rules and regulations, but the inward life may be evil. And in the end we will be driven to the position of the Catholic church; we will have to provide some means of escaping punishment when we break one of these rules. But that surely will not foster the advancement of personality. It will deaden the spirit of man.

If we have a guiding principle we will have life. It may be hard and difficult to guide our life in the channels of righteousness. We may often fall. We may make mistakes which will cost us many heart-pangs. But after all the highest personality can only be attained when we live by principle. This will make room for any new advancement which the human race may make. We will not then be bound by that which we have outgrown. We will be free to render to each man his due, and each case will be dealt with according to its own merits. A code of laws is like fetters which bind a man. A life by principle will not be a life of license. But it will guide the heart. It will not simply keep a man from killing another man, but it will keep him from hating his fellow man. A code of laws appeals only to the outward act; a principle appeals to the heart. It sets a man on his mettle. It makes a man out of him.

A code of rules or laws will apply only to the age in which they are formed. Every age has its own standards. Here we see the wisdom of Jesus. Had he given a system of ethics it would have passed away with his age. But instead of giving a system he gave principles. These do not pass away with their age, but last through the ages. And the principles which Jesus gave will last through all eternity. These principles are what we are to use to guide our lives today.

Here will be introduced a few quotations to strengthen the view maintained. Smyth in his "Christian Ethics" says,



“While in his love and truth the Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever, he would fit his manner of life and apply his doctrine to the social, moral, and religious requirements of every age with as much wisdom as he displayed while he walked among the people in Judea of old, or answered the questions of the scribes and Pharisees of his day. The Christ comes always to fulfil not to destroy; and Christian faith and ethics are the fulfilments of spiritual processes of life. We have a more difficult task to perform than simply to strive to repeat the beliefs or the manners even of primitive Christianity; the harder, more manifold and only Christian task is to organize present life in all its spheres of industry and thought in the spirit of the Christ.”

Leighton in his “Jesus Christ and The Civilization of Today” says, “Although Jesus teaches by parables and single instances as well as by explicitly formulated principles, what he conveys is in every case a dynamic principle or spiritual ideal of conduct. The gospel is no system of casuistry, no network of minute and iron-bound prescriptions. Jesus supplies the quickening leaven; but it is an essential feature of his ethical teaching that the individual shall in each specific and concrete case direct his own actions by the conscious and free thought and decision in the light of the principles laid down.”

“The spirit of Christ still draws and instructs men with *power* and not as the Scribes; the power is that of a life that does not infringe on the freedom of our souls, that does not intimidate or impose on external compulsion, but that gently draws us to him; humbles, cheers, and quickens us with a tenderness and sweetness that is yet strong with a strength that never wavers in the face of conflict, suffering, or doubt.”

“Jesus speaks with *authority* in matters of conduct and life, but the authority is not the external constraint of an institution or an organization, nor the dogmatism of a cut-and-dried system that chills the spirit and fetters the reason. His moral authority is that of a perfect life, which, as we submit to its influences, arouses an answering witness in our hearts and



wins our consent with the personal conviction that, in the company of this life, our personalities are coming to their own, are ever growing in harmony and peace, and in the fellowship of the Life Divine and Immortal; the life in which man truly finds himself at home in the cosmos because his soul has broken into local and temporal fetters and, through entrance upon a new humanity, is become one with God."

"Plato and Sir Thomas More sketched for us ideals of the social state; but Jesus left a concrete personal embodiment of the ideal man living out perfectly the life of social duty and of human fellowship in such a manner that men are thereby stimulated, not indeed to imitate him in a slavish and external fashion, but to work out their lives freely in his spirit."

We therefore conclude that the teachings of Jesus cannot be used as our ethical norm today; nor could we wish them to be so used. None of us would wish to live by those teachings "verbatim et literatim." But the principle underlying the teachings of Jesus must be conserved by us today. That principle is Love to God and love to man. Along the lines of this principle it behooves each one of us to work out our salvation with fear and trembling.

FORRESTON, ILL.



## VII.

### CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY.

A. V. HIESTER.

Auguste Comte (1798–1857) was the friend and disciple of St. Simon whose doctrines he expounded and systematized. That he owed much to St. Simon is evident from the most cursory comparison of their writings. Comte frankly admitted his great obligation to his master in his earlier career. "I certainly am under great personal obligations," he wrote to an intimate friend, "to St. Simon; that is to say, he helped in a powerful degree to launch me in the philosophical direction that I have now definitely marked out for myself, and that I shall follow without looking back for the rest of my life."

This is something more than a conventional piece of self-depreciation. For while his superiority to St. Simon in intellectual grasp, scientific attainments, and the power of original and systematic thinking, must be freely conceded, it is no less true that the germs of all the fundamental ideas of his social philosophy are contained in the writings of St. Simon. The two most distinctive principles of that philosophy are, first, that social phenomena are as capable of being grouped under laws as other phenomena; and, secondly, that the true destination of philosophy is social, and that the true object of the thinker is the reorganization of the moral, political and religious systems. Both were suggested by St. Simon. St. Simon also suggested to Comte the principle of the oneness of science; the principle that the progress of science from the theological through the metaphysical to the positive stage proceeds *pari passu* with the transition of society from the military to the industrial regime; the principle that



social crises are the resultant of disharmony in the world of thought, and that the restoration of social order and harmony is dependent on the advance of science; and the principle that social regeneration is psychological in character, and that knowledge must be subordinated to feeling.

While the genetic connection between Comte and St. Simon is unmistakable, there are two notable differences. The one is political in character. While St. Simon in his ideal state entrusts the supreme power to one man, Comte vests it in a priestly class whose authority, although limited to counsel and persuasion, will be unquestioned. This Comte calls a republic, despite the evident fact that it contains within itself the seeds of both anarchism and absolutism. In theory at least Comte explicitly rejects St. Simon's principle of absolutism, although he admits at one place that a despotic form of government might be temporarily necessary to install his ideal state.

But the principal difference between the two men has to do with religion. While St. Simon's scheme makes much of religion, that is, Christianity, that of Comte is avowedly atheistic. This is evident in the latter's *Système de Politique Positive*, which appeared in 1824, and in which Comte undertook to expound St. Simon's views. But the effort did not meet with the approbation of St. Simon, who deplored its indifference to religion. The result was an estrangement between the two men which was never healed. After the death of St. Simon, which occurred the following year, Comte broke with St. Simon's school; and in after years he was accustomed to speak slightly of the abilities and attainments of his former master.

Comte's ideal state is described in his *Positive Polity*, a work of four volumes, which appeared between 1851 and 1854, and of which his earlier and larger work, *Positive Philosophy*, is the philosophic and scientific foundation. The chief purpose of the latter is to remove social phenomena from the sphere of theological and metaphysical conceptions; to apply to them the same scientific methods which have given us physics, chem-



istry and physiology; and to advance the study of society into the positive stage, the last of the three stages of human knowledge.

The governing principle of Comte's social speculations is that social improvement can come only through a moral development. With St. Simon he first introduced into economic literature the conception of social evolution based on the growth of the altruistic sentiment. In this Comte exhibits a remarkably keen insight into the nature of society. In nothing does he exhibit his immeasurable superiority over the great body of utopists, both before and after the French Revolution, so much as in his firm grasp of the principle that changes in the mechanism of government or the distribution of wealth are powerless to effect any real social and political regeneration. Now the key to this moral development, which is the *sine qua non* of all social and political improvement, is the progressive subordination of self-love to the social feeling, both in public and in private life. But this victory of altruism over egoism can be secured, according to Comte, only by enlisting on the side of altruism the strongest element in human nature, which is the heart.

Comte points out that under the Catholic system the supremacy of the feelings was abused, so that the intellect was their slave. Then in the Reformation there was a revolt of the intellect against feeling, and the consequence was that in Protestantism feeling was given a place of secondary importance. But in Comte's ideal state the intellect is neither slave nor rebel nor even master, but the willing servant of the feelings. How is this voluntary subordination of the intellect to the feelings to be accomplished? Only by means of religion, Comte replies. For the characteristic basis of any religion, he continues, is that it postulates the existence of a power without the individual so superior to him as to command the absolute submission of his whole being. But with Comte this superior power is not the Supreme Being of monotheistic religions. It is not a concrete personal being at all, but



Humanity, past, present and future. What is for the good of Humanity is the first and supreme consideration. That determined, every detail falls at once into its proper place in the social structure. Under such a religion, therefore, utility, not duty, not love, not self-interest, becomes the test of every institution, impulse and act.

Thus after he has most unceremoniously dismissed religion from his polity Comte finds himself under the necessity of reinstating it, in order to provide a sufficient sanction for altruistic conduct. The particular form of religion which he thus establishes is one of his own devising with features borrowed from pantheism and fetishism. This change of mind with respect to religion which astounded many of Comte's disciples dates from about the year 1845 and can be readily traced in his later writings. It is apparent even in their titles. The full title of the Positive Polity which is mainly an enlargement and reconstruction of his earlier work, *Système de Politique Positive*, plus his religion of Humanity, is *Système de Politique Positive, ou Traité de Sociologie instituant la Religion de l'Humanité*. Another of his later works is entitled *Catechisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle*. In a still later work, the *Calendrier Positiviste*, Comte institutes a complete system of saints and sub-saints selected from all countries and all ages.

The new religion abounds in minute and ingenious adaptations of forms, sacraments and prayers from other religions. In its essential features, however, it is little more than the worship and discipline of Catholicism transferred to a system in which the conception of God has been superseded by the abstract idea of Humanity. Prayers are offered morning, noon and night to Humanity represented by the worshipper's female relatives—mother, wife and daughter. If these are inadequate to the rôle of representing Humanity, or if the last two are lacking, the worshipper may substitute in his mind other women and offer his prayers to them.

The important part which is to be played by woman, and



which has its basis in religion, is one of the most remarkable features of Comte's scheme. From his earliest years he appears to have been completely possessed with the necessity of elevating woman's condition. In order that she may be qualified for her exalted rôle she is to be thoroughly educated, excluded from all political activities, and raised above material cares. And what renders her high station still more noteworthy among utopian schemes, is that she is to exercise her great influence over man within the family. Comte would not destroy the family, as most utopists do, but strengthen and improve it. Not only is the family to be woman's peculiar sphere of influence, but she is to wield that influence through her affections. Through her affections, as they are fostered and ennobled within the family, she will purify man's activities and hold him to an unselfish life and the service of Humanity. "Superior in power of affection," says Comte, "more able to keep both the intellectual and the active powers in continual subordination to feeling, women are the natural intermediaries between Humanity and man. The Great Being confides especially to them its moral Providence, maintaining through them the direct and constant cultivation of universal affection in the midst of all the distractions of thought or action, which are forever withdrawing men from its influence. . . . Beside the uniform influence of every woman on every man, to attach him to Humanity, such is the importance and difficulty of this ministry that each of us should be placed under the special guidance of one of these angels to answer, as it were, to the Great Being. This moral guardianship may assume three types—the mother, the wife and the daughter—each having several modifications. . . . Together they form the three simple modes of solidarity, or unity with contemporaries—obedience, union and protection—as well as the three degrees of continuity between ages, by uniting us with the past, the present and the future. In accordance with my theory of the brain each corresponds with one of our three altruistic sentiments—veneration, attachment and benevolence."



Humanity, that great abstract being which woman mediates to man, consists of all the good—the good of the past, the present and the future. A calendar of saints' days serves to keep the great and good names of the past in remembrance. In addition to the human race, the conception of Humanity includes also those races of the lower animals, which, because of their peculiar serviceability to mankind, are incorporated by Comte in Humanity. Along with this enlarged conception of Humanity, which the citizen of Comte's ideal state worships, he may worship also the earth as the "great fetish" and space as the "great medium." These three, Humanity, the earth and space, together constitute the "Positivist Trinity."

The work of the priests of Humanity is to perform the various religious ceremonies; to regulate to the minutest details public and private activities; to supervise the work of education; to arbitrate all quarrels; and to preach those principles of universal harmony, which underlie the religion of Humanity, and which ordinary mortals are apt to ignore. But despite all this minute power of regulation there will be freedom of speech and action. That the two are not incompatible is owing to the peculiar character of this priestly rule, which is based on a profound and comprehensive knowledge of man and nature, reenforced by moral power and a certain greatness of character without which mere force of intellect will fail to command the respect and confidence of the masses. The priests of Humanity will rule, therefore, not through wealth or material power, but through their wisdom and character. They will not command, but counsel and persuade.

Church and State are separate but not independent powers. At the head of the government will be a triumvirate of bankers with power to appoint their successors. Here again Comte finds it difficult to preserve the balance between governmental authority and individual liberty. No guarantees are provided for individual rights. In fact there will be no popular rights at all under the new order of things. Rights are declared to



be a metaphysical figment, and men will speak and think only of duties, although freedom of speech and discussion will be maintained. But notwithstanding the lack of guarantees for individual liberty, the power of this triumvirate of bankers will not be altogether unlimited. Free criticism on the part of the people will exercise some restraining influence. An additional check is to be found in the body of priests, whom the triumvirate are expected to consult on all important matters, and who, although debarred from direct political and business activities, have in their hands as a last resort the power of excommunicating both rulers and people.

Industry will be carried on by private capitalists, who, if they have been properly educated, will regard their position as a social trust and be satisfied with a reasonable profit. While strikes and lockouts will still be theoretically possible, the rule of a wise priesthood is expected to render them unnecessary. Like the capitalist the laborer will be regarded as rendering a service to society and humanity by his work. Every laborer will own the house he lives in, and receive for his work a fixed wage of twenty-five francs a week.

In appointing his industrial and social arrangements Comte gives frequent play to his fancy through the use of sacred numbers. One of these sacred numbers is seven. Every house will contain seven rooms, no more and no less. Every treatise will contain seven chapters, each divided into three parts, and each part subdivided into seven sections. Thirteen is another sacred number. Every poem will contain thirteen cantos.

Comte's scheme does not appear to have attracted much attention, either in France or elsewhere. Certainly no attempt was ever made to give practical effect to it. It suffered in comparison with the more thoroughgoing, and therefore more attractive, schemes of his contemporaries and fellow-countrymen, Fourier, Cabet and Blanc, which monopolized interest in questions of social reform for nearly a generation after the discrediting of St. Simon's ideas. And then by the time these



other schemes had in turn become discredited the day for ideal schemes of social improvement was waning. The world was turning to more practicable things. Comte's importance for us, then, as for his contemporaries, is not as a practical reformer or agitator, but as a philosopher and the herald of the new science of sociology.

Of the French utopias of the first half of the nineteenth century—and nearly all the utopias of that period were French—the most important, so far as both its practical effects and its influence on modern thought are concerned, is that of Charles Fourier (1772–1837). While the publication of Fourier's earliest work antedates by a full decade the original publication of St. Simon's views, the former's scheme attracted scant attention until that of the latter had been completely discredited; although in the opinion of so excellent an authority as John Stuart Mill that of Fourier is the more practicable of the two.

Fourier's social views must be sought in three different works. The first is entitled *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements et des Destinées Générales* and was published in 1808. In 1822 the *Traité de l'Association Agricole Domestique, ou Attraction Industrielle* appeared; and seven years later *Le Nouveau Monde Industriel et Sociétaire* which contains the most finished exposition of Fourier's views.

While the schemes of St. Simon and Fourier differ fundamentally, they may be said to complement each other in logical method, personal point of view, and principle of organization. St. Simon began his career as a man of wealth and social eminence. Fourier, on the other hand, was ever a man of the people. Then again, while St. Simon arrived at his scheme through observation of society and the study of its history and development, Fourier, regarding the past as a series of blunders which could throw little light on the future, searched the depths of his own consciousness, and discovered there a universal law which enabled him to construct a perfect society. A third complementary distinction is that St.



Simon's scheme is based on the principle of authority and ultra-centralization, whereas Fourier emphasizes the principle of local and individual freedom, and gives to the commune the chief place in the social structure.

To understand Fourier's social system it is necessary to understand first his theology, cosmogony and psychology, on which his social speculations are based. His cosmogony is the most fantastic part of his system. He divides the life of the world into four phases, two of them ascending and two descending. The two ascending phases, infancy and growth, will last five thousand and thirty-five thousand years respectively. The two descending phases are decline and dotage, the one lasting thirty-five thousand and the other five thousand years. At the time Fourier wrote the world was still in its infancy, the stage in which everything is artificial and corrupt because men have for five thousand years misunderstood the purposes of the Creator. That they have misunderstood is evident from the fact that they have pronounced bad passions which are simply natural. Not until the passions are given a free development will there be an end of social corruption. When this shall have been accomplished the world will have entered the second of Fourier's stages.

Theologically Fourier is a pantheist holding that God pervades everything as a universal attraction. Newton discovered this law of attraction as it governs one movement of the world, the material. But Fourier has universalized it by demonstrating that it rules the world in all its four movements—the material, the organic, the intellectual and the social. Pervading everything God has done all things well. But man has constantly misunderstood and thwarted his benevolent purposes; and the consequence has been misery and vice instead of happiness and virtue.

In his psychology Fourier recognizes twelve radical passions connected with three points of attraction. Five are sensitive tending to enjoyment—sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch. Four are affective, tending to groups—love, friendship, ambi-



tion, and familism or paternity. Of the remaining three, the alternating gives variety, the emulative leads to intrigue and jealousy, while the composite unifies the several pleasures of the senses and the soul. The first two classes are controlled by the last, especially the composite. But ultimately these conflicting passions will be harmonized in one mighty all-embracing impulse, which Fourier calls *uniteisme*, and which is love for others in society. Thus out of the free play of all the passions harmony is at last evolved like white out of a combination of all the colors.

From all this Fourier concludes that the transition from social chaos to universal harmony, from misery and vice to happiness and virtue, can be accomplished in no other way than through the full and free development of human nature, that is to say, through the unrestrained indulgence of the passions. But this requires a complete reconstruction of society, since the existing social order is based on the principle that the gratification of desire must be restrained. A new social order must be established which will be in harmony with human nature and the intentions of the Creator. In a society so constituted every passion will contribute to the common good. The motive power in industry will not be a sense of duty, nor even of self-interest, but the passions.

In Fourier's ideal state the social unit is the *phalanx* or *phalange*, which is organized on the principle of coöperation and free elective affinity, and which occupies a square league of ground. It consists of from sixteen hundred to two thousand persons, the number being determined by the twelve passions, which, according to Fourier, can be combined in 820 ways in as many individuals. To secure the proper degree of harmony every possible combination should be represented in a *phalange*. This will require about eighteen hundred persons, allowance being made for infants, aged persons and those disabled by illness or accident. A larger number will produce discord.

For the sake of economy in buildings and domestic arrange-



ments all the members of a *phalange* live together in a great central building, which is known as the *phalanstery*, and in which life can be arranged to suit every one's taste. The members of a *phalange* may eat at a common table or not as they choose. They need not work in common more than is necessary under the existing system. Family life is not impossible for those who prefer it. Neither private property nor inheritance is abolished. But while the individual will have a wide latitude within which to indulge his tastes and inclinations, conditions will be such that no one will have either motive or excuse for that selfish exclusion which is so characteristic of the existing social order. Individual freedom and community of interest will be reconciled in a way hitherto unknown and unimagined.

The chief industry of the *phalange* will be agriculture. Commerce and manufacturing will be reduced to a minimum, although all the necessary handicrafts will be represented, so that the *phalange* will be self-sufficient and contain within itself the means for the free development of the most varied tastes and capacities. Useless things will not be produced; and all parasitic or unnecessary work, like that of agents, middlemen and distributors, will be eliminated. The only form of commerce that will be permitted will be the exchange of products among the groups, series and individuals within the *phalange*, between different *phalanges*, and to a limited extent between different nations.

For industrial purposes the *phalange* will be divided into a number of series, each consisting of from seven to nine persons of similar tastes who will undertake some particular kind of labor. Several series having related tastes and carrying on related forms of industry will form a group; and the various groups will make up the *phalange*. While every capable person will be required to do some kind of work, no one, owing to the elimination of unnecessary forms of work, will be required to labor excessively. The members of the *phalange* will be free to attach themselves to one or several of its groups and series



as their tastes, aptitudes or interests may dictate. Fourier does not accept the orthodox view that all labor is repugnant to human nature. His theory is that if men be permitted to follow their own bent each will select the work for which he is best fitted, and do it cheerfully and well.

The problem of getting the disagreeable work done where all are more or less equal—a stumbling block in all communistic schemes—is solved in a way which has at least the merit of originality. Few kinds of labor, Fourier declares, are intrinsically disagreeable. If work is unpleasant it is so mainly because of its monotony or duration. His remedy for this is shorter hours of labor and frequent change of occupation. Then again, certain kinds of labor are disagreeable because esteemed dishonorable. In such cases Fourier would not only remove every stigma of dishonor attaching to labor; but he would also appeal to the spirit of emulation, and award a special measure of honor and public esteem to those undertaking such forms of labor. Then if there should be a residuum of labor, repugnance for which cannot be overcome by the foregoing methods, for all that cannot be performed by machinery, as the most undoubtedly will be, there still remains the device of higher wages or shorter hours for disagreeable work.

Fourier's scheme of distribution is another of his special inventions. From the common product of the *phalange* a subsistence minimum for each member—women and children as well as men—is first subtracted. After a second deduction for capital to be employed in future operations, the remainder is divided between the three great interests of labor, talent and capital, in the proportion of five parts to the first, four to the second, and three to the third. This differs materially from St. Simon's principle of distribution which makes service the sole measure of reward. Fourier's scheme is unique among modern schemes of social regeneration in two important respects. The first is its maintenance of the principles of private capital, including the inheritance of property and the payment of



interest. The other is its recognition of inequality of talent. This is perhaps the most fantastic feature in the whole scheme, for it rates the talent of each one, and consequently determines his share of that part of the social product which goes to talent, in accordance with the vote of the members of his group. In the remuneration of labor, hard and necessary work will be best paid, useful work next, and pleasant work least. But the lowest remuneration will be so liberal that it will be possible for every laborer to become a capitalist.

As to government Fourier's scheme verges on anarchism. From his fundamental principle of free attraction it necessarily follows that compulsion and restraint will be reduced to a minimum. Any inclination on the part of the *phalange* to tyrannize over the individual will be held in check by the possibility of his removing with his capital to some other *phalange* or to such part of the industrial world as has not adopted Fourier's system. There will be neither judges, policemen, soldiers nor criminals, for these are the inevitable accompaniments of a discordant social regime. But whatever government there is will be republican in form. The officials of a *phalange* including the unarch will be elected by the members. Several *phalanges* will freely group themselves in local combinations presided over by duarchs. Then by successive stages wider and wider combinations will be formed under triarchs, tetrarchs, pentarchs, etc., until all the *phalanges* in the world have been combined in a vast federation. At the head of this federation will be an omniarch who will reside at Constantinople the capital of the world.

Fourier's law of attraction has an important bearing on the status of woman and the relation between the sexes. Its logical consequence is free love and a community of wives. But this is not left entirely to inference. For Fourier explicitly declares that since the institution of marriage imposes unnatural bonds on human desires it is of necessity abolished. A woman will be allowed several husbands under different titles and with different rights, but all variable according to taste or caprice.



This liberty of love, which is by inference granted also to men, will make an end to the vice and hypocrisy of the existing social order. Like Comte, Fourier was deeply impressed with the necessity of emancipating woman, believing that her economic, legal and social position at any given period or in any country is an exact measure of the degree of civilization of that period or country. In granting to woman then this liberty of love Fourier believed that he was elevating the character of the civilization of his ideal state.

Although Fourier lived in an age of revolution he rejected violence as a means of inaugurating his system. He had an abounding faith in the intrinsic excellence of his scheme, believing that if it were once fairly tried its world-wide adoption would straightway follow. In the last years of his life he frequently expressed the conviction that the social millenium could not be far off, that it might come possibly within ten years; and on one occasion he is said to have advised some friends not to buy real estate, as the progress of his system would cause it to depreciate in value.

Fourier's system has been described as one of the most ingenious utopias ever devised by the human brain. This is extravagant language. For whatever may be said of its economic possibilities, it is certain that socially and morally it is altogether impracticable. Its chief defect is that it gives free rein to the beast within man. In this it runs counter to all that experience and science have taught us of human nature and the laws of social progress. It underestimates the force of human egotism. It ignores the fact that from the beginning social progress has been possible only in the degree that the beast within man has been repressed. It is the theory of a state of nature in a new dress. It is the *laissez-faire* principle, long discredited in economics, applied to morals.

On its economic side the scheme is perhaps less objectionable. It is conceivable that economic groups, such as Fourier describes, might be able to support themselves in some degree of comfort, if started with sufficient capital. Of course small



scale production would be the rule, for with agriculture and fifty or sixty handicrafts carried on simultaneously within a *phalange* only a handful of laborers could be assigned to each; while division of labor and the use of machinery would be reduced to a minimum. This would involve a great waste of labor force; and the consequence would be that anything beyond a coarse material comfort would be impossible.

While Fourier's scheme as a whole is clearly impracticable it contains here and there features that have commended themselves to modern thought. He was the first to point out the economic benefits of coöperative production. Modern factory legislation for the protection of the laborer, the growing recognition of the evils of excessive toil, the shortening of the hours of labor, sanitary improvements in the factory and in the laborer's home, owe much to the spread of his ideas, if they did not always originate in his fertile brain. Another contribution made by Fourier to modern thought is the emphasis which he placed on individual and local freedom at a time when state despotism was the rule. It is no small tribute to his genius that he so clearly discerned the part which the local body, whatever its name, has played in the social and political development since his time.

LANCASTER, PA.



## VIII.

### EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

#### A CHANGE OF EDITORS.

It is with reluctance that the writer relinquishes his place as one of the managing editors of the *Review*. Ten years have elapsed since Professor Rupp, then the sole editor, on account of failing health requested his assistance in the editorial work. For two years he served as assistant editor. After the death of Dr. Rupp a Board of Editors composed of members of the Faculty of the Theological Seminary and of Franklin and Marshall College, was organized. Professor John S. Stahr and the writer were chosen managing editors. Thus for more than a decade the latter has taken a more or less prominent part in the editorial conduct of the *Review*.

One of the encouraging features of the work was the voluntary assistance rendered by professors of the various institutions and by the ministers of the church, through whose timely contributions the continuance of the *Review* was made possible. The work of Dr. A. S. Weber and Professor A. V. Hiester, in their respective departments, is worthy of special mention and of high commendation. Much interest has been shown by the readers in the book notices, which have been prepared not only by members of the editorial board but by ministers throughout the church. The index number, prepared by the Rev. Clayton Ranck, has been kindly received by all subscribers, and will be treasured as a valuable key to the rich material that is found on the pages of the *Review* since the year of its origin in 1849. Numerous words of appreciation from scholarly men beyond the bounds of the Reformed Church have inspired the editors to renewed endeavors. In spite of the many periodicals of a more popular character, which make the support of a



theological paper somewhat problematical, the subscription list has not only kept its own but has slightly increased.

It is, therefore, not with a feeling of discouragement that one makes room for a successor. It is far more with a conviction that there is a bright future before this periodical, that the writer is prepared to give way to another. Nothing but a long felt need of concentrating time and energy on a specific line of studies, has induced him to ask the business manager to relieve him from his position at present. He shall always consider it a privilege to continue as one of the Board of Editors and to lend encouragement and assistance in the future work of the *Review*.

The readers will doubtless welcome the appointment of Professor Theodore F. Herman, D.D., now occupying the chair of Systematic Theology in the Theological Seminary, who, with Dr. Stahr, will have charge of the editorial management. His fitness for this position will at once be acknowledged by all who know him. In his education he combines the best culture of Germany and of America. He has been an active and successful pastor for years, and is thoroughly conversant with the practical needs of the church. By nature he is inclined to philosophical and theological studies, and is thoroughly acquainted with modern movements and tendencies in these departments. He is withal a fascinating writer, capable of throwing a subtle charm around all subjects which he undertakes to discuss. We may venture, therefore, a prophecy not only of the maintenance of the present status of the *Review*, but of an improvement in form and contents under his leadership.

We have firm faith in the mission of the *Review*. In an editorial prepared by Dr. Rupp in 1903, entitled, "The Merits of our Review," in which the appointment of an assistant editor was announced, attention was called to the changes in the character of the *Review* since its establishment. These changes are evidenced in the different names which it has borne from time to time, such as the *Mercersburg Review*, *The Reformed*



*Quarterly Review*, and *The Reformed Church Review*. The changes appear, however, much more in the contents of the articles than in the several titles. In the course of fifty years new issues have arisen in the Christian church which require a re-statement of theological positions. The church question was uppermost in the minds of the first editors. This, however, has been superseded by other problems, such as those of biblical criticism, Christian sociology, and contemporary science. Yet, with all the changes in the several stages of the *Review*, one may trace the continuance of fundamental principles, such as the doctrine of development, the central position of Christ in theology, and the emphasis on an ethical interpretation of the Christian life. Dogmas and institutions may become antiquated; but living principles will remain, though applied to new conditions and embodied in new forms.

In this age of transition, in which social, political, and religious institutions are changing, each denomination should have an organ through which it may contribute its thought on the great questions at issue. The *Review* serves this purpose for the Reformed Church in the United States. It is a medium of expression for the ripe scholarship of the church. At the same time it affords an opportunity for diligent and scholarly young men to exercise the gift of authorship. Its purpose is not simply to solve problems, but to develop personality in the solution of problems. The ministers and laymen of the church ought to find on its pages illuminating articles and helpful discussions on every phase of church life. The book notices will always be a guide for an intelligent selection of current literature. Through a theological periodical like this, the consciousness of a denomination will be unfolded, and the Reformed Church will continue to wield an influence in the formation of religious thought and life in American Protestantism.

G. W. R.



## IX.

### NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

GREAT RELIGIOUS TEACHERS OF THE EAST. By Alfred W. Martin. New York, The Macmillan Company. Pages vi + 265. Price \$1.25 net.

The point of view of the author of this book determines the setting of the material. The seven chapters were originally delivered as lectures "on successive Sunday evenings in the winter of 1911, at the Meeting-House of the Society for Ethical Culture of New York." The lecturer, Mr. Martin, is "associate leader of the Society." He has carefully studied the various religions of the Orient and does not consider any one of them as absolute and final. He professes to speak with entire freedom from traditional views, though he does not contravene them when he finds them in accord with the results of historical investigation. He says in the first lecture: "It is a pathetic mistake to suppose that no indispensable good can come out of Oriental Nazareths other than the Palestinian." He also expresses the hope that, "at the close of these lectures we shall find ourselves more catholic in our sympathy, more cosmopolitan in our attitude toward foreign faiths, more responsive to sources of inspiration that seemed wholly unpromising while we were under the baneful spell of prejudice born of ignorance."

The lectures have the free and simple style of a popular address. The doctrines of seven great religious teachers, each of whom may be considered a founder of a religion, are set forth. The book may be called a comparative study of religions before a popular audience. The author aims, as he says, "at ethical culture, not intellectual entertainment." The headings of the seven chapters will give a clue to the contents: (1) The Discovery of the Sacred Books of the East and Its Result; (2) Gotama, the Buddha; (3) Zoroaster; (4) Confucius and Lao-tze; (5) The Prophets of Israel and the Commonwealth of Men; (6) Jesus; (7) Mohammed. A brief bibliography has been added for the benefit of those who may wish to extend their reading in the field of popular, non-technical literature on the great moral leaders, whose life and work are here discussed.

Each chapter is replete with facts and quotations from the original sources. The scripture readings from the sacred books of the East, which were a part of the preliminary exercises at the meetings when these lectures were delivered, have been incorporated in the text. Seven cuts, six of them of the different religious leaders discussed, add interest to the volume.



The reader naturally turns to the lecture on Jesus to find out the author's view of the Christ. He considers him as one of the great moral leaders of the Orient. He has no patience, however, with the conclusions of certain recent historians who deny that Jesus ever existed. He finds their arguments altogether inconclusive. "The essential greatness of Jesus consists in his particular manifestation of these universal qualities (sincerity, sympathy, consecration, trust). Differ as men do in their theories of the person of Jesus, all unite in their recognition of these cardinal attributes of his character; all are agreed that Jesus will be forever remembered, revered, and loved for his unswerving loyalty to his convictions, his unsurpassed sympathy for man, his unalloyed consecration to a great life-purpose, his undying trust in a Power higher than man." These are the qualities which he considers unchangeable in the life and in the gospel of Jesus. In other respects, however, he would differ from his teaching. He says: "Speaking for myself—I have no right to speak for any one else—I confess that while I cannot accept the teachings of Jesus with reference to marriage, divorce, wealth, intellectual and æsthetic pursuits; while I cannot share his belief in a miraculously established Kingdom of Heaven on earth, I do find in him an ever inspiring example of sincerity, sympathy, consecration and trust."

The author, of course, is not orthodox in his Christology, and differs even from leading representatives of the liberal school of theology who are as yet unwilling to rank Jesus simply as one of the great moral leaders of the race. They still regard him as the way, the truth, and the life of man, always and everywhere. The value of the book, however, is not to be tested by its Christological views. The author's purpose is to show the truth underlying the eastern religions, the kinship between them, and the moral value which they have even to-day. We have read few books on this subject so instructive, and yet so concise and clear, as the one before us. The material is readily comprehended by all classes of readers and we heartily commend it to those who have an interest in the comparative study of religion.

GEO. W. RICHARDS.

**BAPTIST CONFESSIONS OF FAITH.** By W. J. McGlothlin, Ph.D., D.D. Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society. Pages xii + 368.

The title of this volume will at once commend it to students of church history as well as to all intelligent laymen. It is a valuable source book for doctrinal and symbolical studies. In Dr. Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom" only three Baptist Confessions are included, and these originated in the United States. The Baptist Churches have not been considered confessional bodies in the same sense as the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican denom-



inations. The difference between them, however, is found not in an absence of confessions in the Baptist body, but in the use made of confessions by both bodies. The Baptists never regarded them as laws of faith which officers and members were pledged to obey, but rather as "statements of what a certain group of Baptists did believe at a given time."

In spite of this freedom from obligation to subscription, the author claims that the "Baptists have preserved a remarkable degree of doctrinal agreement throughout their history." The reason for such a consensus he finds in "their insistence upon a converted church membership, the authority of Scriptures, and the right and duty of every individual Christian to decide doctrinal questions for himself, by a study of the Scriptures under the guidance of the Holy Spirit." Whether one consents to the author's reasons or not, the fact of a general doctrinal agreement among Baptist bodies throughout the world must almost startle those churches and ecclesiastical leaders who think the only safeguard of unity and of orthodoxy is a rigorous pledging of officers and members to standards of doctrine. One might infer that agreement depends less upon the imposition of formulas than upon the inspiration of life. External standards are the product, and not the cause, of life.

The Confessions are grouped under five headings: (1) The Anabaptists; (2) The Mennonites; (3) The English Baptists; (4) The American Baptists; (5) Confessions of other nationalities (German, French, Swedish, and other lands). A comprehensive and concise historical introduction to each of the five parts enables the reader to approach the several confessions intelligently. The greater portion of space is given to the confessions of the English and the American Baptists, eleven English and three American. Of special value are also the early Anabaptist and the Mennonite formulas, which hitherto have been practically inaccessible to the English reader. The author strives to adhere to the original editions as far as possible. The translations have been made with great care and apparently with exactness. The volume deserves a place in libraries of theological seminaries and colleges, and in the public libraries of the country. Ministers and laymen interested in the subject will find the work a great help and a delightful study.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

A BEGINNER'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By Herbert Ernest Cushman, A.M., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in Tufts College. Vol. I. Ancient and Mediæval Philosophy. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1910. Pages 394. Price \$1.50.

Interest in the history of philosophy is certainly not waning. Text-books covering the whole field, volumes treating of distinct epochs, and extensive studies of the work of individual thinkers



are multiplying. This is a wholesome sign, not only because it is always worth while to study the lives and thoughts of those who have had a genius for reflection, but also because it is coming to be more fully realized that the man who knows only the works of the thinkers of his own day has after all a very restricted outlook on life.

An encouraging feature of the books on philosophy that are being published in our day is the fact that they are remarkable for their eminent readableness. Dr. Cushman, in the Preface to his English translation of Windelband's "*History of Ancient Philosophy*" spoke some twelve years ago of the need of more helpful paths to the study of philosophy. He said at that time something to this effect: "I have personally never been able to see why the approaches to the study of philosophy have been made as difficult and uninviting as possible. In other hard subjects all sorts of helps and devices are used to allure the beginner. Into philosophy the beginner has always had to force his way with no indulgent hand to help." While it must be admitted that philosophy always will be a difficult study in spite of all sorts of helps and devices, and while there are those who contend that it is fruitless to lure students, who have no metaphysical inclinations or aspirations, into pleasant paths of philosophical speculation, still textbooks like those by Windelband and Cushman show that it is possible for even a history of philosophy to be both scholarly and alluringly interesting.

Another hopeful and helpful feature in these more recent textbooks is the fact that they do not separate the history of thought entirely from the history of affairs. In this perhaps Windelband too was the guiding genius in that he excelled in showing clearly that the great men of the past did not speak without having had sufficient reason for their utterance in the light of the times in which they lived.

To the student who is not yet prepared to take up the masterful works of Weber and Windelband there is not to be found in the English language a more helpful and attractive approach to the study of Ancient and Mediæval Philosophy than this volume written by Dr. Cushman. The author is a man who has had many years of experience in teaching the subject before us. He knows how to sunder what is enduring and significant from what is indifferent and transient. He does full justice to the different tendencies in ancient and mediæval thought, every one of which has contributed its part to the complete structure of modern intellectual civilization. He understands the capacities and needs of students. He knows how to utilize the information with which the average student is furnished when he is about to enter upon the study of the history of human thought.



The volume before us is especially noteworthy for its emphasis on the influence of history on the development of speculative thought. The author correlates philosophic doctrines with contemporary events and seeks to lead the reader to a study of the philosophical development of ancient and mediæval times by showing how it gives a meaning to history and how history furnishes the background for a correct and adequate interpretation of philosophic thought. In this volume the history of philosophic thought is not presented as an agglomeration of arbitrary and independent systems. Rather, it is shown to be vitally related to the geography, history, literature and political life of the several periods covered by the book. Dr. Cushman helps us to see how a man living in a certain century and breathing a certain moral and intellectual atmosphere could have said what he did. He shows us how the story of religion, literature, science, geographical and political environment is indispensable to the understanding of the speculative movements of ancient and mediæval times.

After an introduction in which the author shows that the real difference in the three general periods of history is a difference of mental attitude, ancient thought being called *objective*, mediæval thought *traditional*, and modern thought *subjective*, he wisely devotes three fourths of his book to a consideration of ancient philosophy. As he follows the several periods of Greek philosophy, he not only shows the clever guesses at the nature of the physical world which were made by the ancients, and the advancement of thought to a different class of problems when men became concerned more particularly with the questions of mind and of the nature of knowledge, but he also shows how and why these problems arose just when they did and what their effect on life really was.

In the discussion of the philosophy of the Middle Ages, emphasis is likewise laid on the characteristics and conditions of the mediæval world, on the way the universe appeared to the mediæval man, and on the political and educational life of the world from the fifth to the fifteenth century.

Dr. Cushman's work, in spite of its constant references to the various political, social, religious, historical and literary controversies and problems which emerge from every period, at no point ceases to be a history of philosophy. The main purpose is not lost. The lives of the leaders of philosophic thought are treated with real human and vital interest, and the systems of thought of the individual thinkers are clearly presented in true historic sequence, always however in their relation to the more general history of civilization.

The maps, diagrams, summaries and tables found in the book will prove to be a valuable aid to the memory. One of the most helpful things in the excellent chapter on Plato is a list of a com-



plete selection of passages from the Dialogues of Plato made by the late Professor Jowett for his Oxford class. Any reader who wishes to get a clear and comprehensive conception of the history of philosophic thought in ancient and mediæval times in all its relations to the history of civilization will do well to get this volume. It will find its way, we are sure, into many a classroom as a text-book. The author has quite recently issued a second volume covering the field of modern philosophy. Both volumes are exactly what they claim to be, and in their field are unsurpassed as "A Beginner's History of Philosophy."

H. M. J. K.

COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY. By W. G. Jordan, B.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1911. Price 75 cents net.

COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF JOB. By George A. Barton, Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College. New York, The Macmillan Company. 1911. Price 90 cents net.

These two small books belong to "The Bible for Home and School" series, published under the general editorship of Shailer Matthews, of the University of Chicago.

The aim and the chief characteristics of this series of commentaries are set forth in a brief general introduction, appearing in each volume. The opening paragraph is as follows: "THE BIBLE FOR HOME AND SCHOOL is intended to place the results of the best modern biblical scholarship at the disposal of the general reader. It does not seek to duplicate other commentaries to which the student must turn. Its chief characteristics are (*a*) its rigid exclusion of all *processes*, both critical and exegetical, from its notes; (*b*) its presupposition and its use of the assured results of historical investigation and criticism wherever such results throw light on the biblical text; (*c*) its running analysis, both in text and comment; (*d*) its brief explanatory notes adapted to the rapid reader; (*e*) its thorough but brief introductions; (*f*) its use of the Revised Version of 1881, supplemented with all important renderings in other versions."

The method of studying the various books of the Old and the New Testament is accordingly the modern critical and historical method.

Professor Jordan, the author of the commentary on the book of Deuteronomy, has adopted the recent literary analysis of the Hexateuch, as also Dr. Mitchell has done in the commentary on Genesis in the same series. The Hexateuch is regarded as having been worked up out of four independent written sources, designated as J, E, D, and P. Up to this point there is among scholars of to-day an essential agreement. The question concerning



the time of the origin of these documents is, however, still a matter of controversy. Here scholars of to-day differ considerably. The chronological order of the documents adopted by Professor Jordan and which apparently was also adopted by Dr. Mitchell (the writer of this notice has not seen the commentary by Dr. Mitchell) is that in which the documents are named above. The composition of D "took place not long before this time (621)," *i. e.*, not long before the eighteenth year of king Josiah, the year in which it was "found." P is later than D, it came into existence in the fifth century B. C. J came into existence in the ninth century B. C. Thus the oldest document of the Hexateuch dates from a time some centuries subsequent to Moses, while the youngest document arose about a century subsequent to the fall of the Hebrew nation. This may suffice to indicate to the reader of this notice Professor Jordan's view on questions concerning the time of origin and the form of Deuteronomy.

A word should be added concerning Professor Jordan's view of the substance or contents of Deuteronomy. But before this phase of the subject is considered it may be well to present his view concerning the substance of the four documents named above, of which D is one. He says: "Individual elements of these documents, J, E, D, and P no doubt existed earlier, and particular parts may have been added later. Thus, the so-called document is not the work of one man, but the production of a school. An early document may have received later additions, while a late one may contain very early material, so that, taken altogether, they represent a continuous development."

Now as to D it shows the closest dependence upon JE, but no trace of connection with P. "Practically all that the Deuteronomic writer has done has been to change his material from the form of a narrative into that of a speech. Thus the speeches of Moses in Deuteronomy are compiled from other and, in many cases, earlier records." The histories in Deuteronomy "are not the pure product of the seventh century, but a re-editing of pre-existing material."

Deuteronomy is viewed as a book of national religion. "The conceptions of the world and religion that lie behind the most primitive things preserved in our book belong to a world quite different from our own." Even though Deuteronomy is a book of national religion, Professor Jordan says it "has surely an important part still to play."

The second volume of the two mentioned above is by Dr. Barton, a professor in Bryn Mawr College and a scholar of international reputation. Dr. Barton's method of studying the book of Job is likewise the modern critical and historical. While all processes in accordance with the general plan of this series of commentaries are excluded, this volume nevertheless bears abun-



dant witness to the fact that Dr. Barton did not spare himself the labor of going through these processes before he wrote the commentary on this Biblical book of unfailing interest. As in all of the volumes in this series, so here the important renderings or variants of the ancient versions are presented. These variants are always translated into English. The ancient versions of the book of Job are in various languages, Semitic and non-Semitic. There are versions of the book into Greek, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Aramaic, and Arabic. To make such a textual study of the book of Job as lies at the basis of this commentary is in itself a task of no mean magnitude; it presupposes among other things a linguistic learning of considerable extent such as few scholars even among special students of the Old Testament possess. Dr. Barton frankly faced the textual facts of the book of Job and has also frankly and clearly stated his conclusions. With the present available data there will, however, always be a difference in results reached by competent scholars.

In the literary study of the book of Job Dr. Barton is equally clear and frank. This is apparent in his position on the date, authorship, and literary unity of the book. His conclusion concerning the prologue and epilogue is that they "are not the work of the poet who wrote the bulk of the book." One of the reasons, among others, for this conclusion is this: "The discussion of the poem moves in the realm of spiritual religion and ethical endeavor only. . . . Right doing and a right attitude of soul toward God are in the poem all that is necessary for reconciliation to God. This is the point of view of the great prophets and of the greatest psalmists, such as the authors of Psalms 50 and 51. The prologue and epilogue, on the other hand, represent the old popular, unspiritual ritualistic side of religion in which animal sacrifices formed a prominent feature."

According to Dr. Barton the story of Job is not of Hebrew origin. "Old Harvard students tell of the late Professor Andrew P. Peabody the same stories which were formerly told in Germany of Professor Neander. So the story of Job came into Palestine possibly from Babylonia and found a habitation in Bashan." Extracts from the Babylonian story are presented.

By some the book of Job is claimed to be a drama. Dr. Barton does, however, not regard the book as a drama. "There is not in Job the action and the development of a plot necessary to a drama. A drama intended for acting would never have had all the actors sitting on a dunghill throughout the play and moving only their tongues! The ancient Semitic world had no drama. . . . The poem depicts the growth of a soul when tried by suffering." It is "The Epic of the Inner Life" as Genung happily named it.



The poet's solution of the problem of suffering is found in the realm of religion and not in that of the intellect. "In presenting this solution he portrays at once the function of the intellect in religion and its limitations. He shows that it is the function of the intellect to keep theology in touch with facts, and compel the abandonment of dogmas which have ceased to be satisfactory explanations of experience and are thus seen to be false. On the other hand he pictures with equal clearness the inability of the mind to fathom life and the universe, and shows that here the one way to peace and strength is in a personal experience of God, which begets faith and trust. One goes on then with a happy heart, not because life's problems are solved, but because he lives in the companionship of One who knows the solution."

We commend these two volumes to the rapid reader for whom they were written. We desire to commend them especially to Sunday-school superintendents and teachers, for we know that there are at least some Sunday-school superintendents and teachers who are at present looking around for just such commentaries as these are. The entire series should be placed in every Sunday-school library.

IRWIN HOCH DELONG.

**THE FUNDAMENTALS: A TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH.** Volume VII, Published by the Testimony Company, 808 La Salle Ave., Chicago. Sent free to all Protestant Ministers, and others, with the Compliments of Two Christian Laymen.

This volume contains eight chapters by as many different authors as follows: The Passing of Evolution, by Professor George Frederick Wright, of Oberlin, Ohio; Inspiration, by Evangelist L. W. Munhall, of Germantown, Pa.; The Testimony of the Scriptures to Themselves, by Dr. George S. Bishop, of East Orange, N. J.; The Testimony of the Organic Unity of the Bible to its Inspiration, by the late Arthur J. Pierson; One Isaiah, by Professor George L. Robinson, of McCormick Seminary, Chicago; The Book of Daniel, by Professor Joseph D. Wilson, of the Reformed Episcopal Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa; Three Peculiarities of the Pentateuch, by Rev. Andrew C. Robinson, of Ballineen, Ireland; and Millennial Dawn: a Counterfeit of Christianity, by Professor William G. Moorehead, of the U. P. Seminary, Xenia, Ohio.

This list of subjects and the names of the writers ought to be a guarantee that the book contains a theological treat for its readers; and no doubt many of them regard it in that light. As these volumes are published mainly for free distribution they are having a very wide circulation. No doubt all parties concerned in the publication and circulation of them are actuated by the best of motives. The honesty of purpose on the part of the publishers, and the sincere convictions of the writers are not to be called in



question; yet it is a question whether the cause of the Gospel and of divine truth will in the end be enhanced by these efforts.

They evidently cherish a fear that christianity is in danger from the teaching of modern science and the labors of the Higher Critics, and for the purpose of contravening the evil influences from these sources they send out these volumes, which in their view set forth the fundamentals of our christian religion, to all of the ministers and christian workers of the land. The desired results will no doubt be produced to some extent. The theory of evolution, for example, may for a time be put under the ban. But as that theory of the world's growth, in all of its departments, will continue to be taught in our high schools and colleges a reaction may come in the minds of the rising generation of educated men that will produce greater evils than those sought to be prevented. For some form of evolution will unquestionably be taught. There are some atheistic and more irreligious scientists. But there are also christian scientists. And nearly all of them are governed in their investigations and studies by some conception of evolution. As there are many different conceptions of the various christian doctrines, as of the doctrine of the atonement for example, so there are different conceptions of the doctrine of evolution. When the atheistic conception has been demolished other conceptions of it remain. Instead of talking about "The passing of evolution," to our mind, much more good would be accomplished by accepting the theory and giving it a christian construction and application. It is not necessary to put a literal construction on the account of the creation given in Genesis and to demand that christians shall accept it blindly on faith. Let them accept the fact that God created the heavens and the earth, the seas and all that in them is. That is all that is required of them. God is the Creator and preserver of all things. The world is His world. The laws according to which the world lives, moves and has its being are His laws. Let the presence and power and wisdom of God in the creation and preservation of all creatures be recognized. But when it comes to defining the processes by which He effects His gracious ends it is better to be cautious. He may have made man out of the dust of the ground by a process of evolution from the lower orders of being. That may have been and may be His method of creation. That God created the species and is continually creating individuals is an article of faith. But the mode and manner of their creation is no article of faith. To have faith in the supernatural is one thing; to say that the supernatural is manifest through magical operations only is another matter.

Again. The title of these publications is "The Fundamentals." It must of course be admitted that the presuppositions and premises of these writers are fundamental to their views on the subjects discussed. But it must not be forgotten that there are other



fundamentals upon which other views of the same subjects are based. A proposition however is really fundamental only when it constitutes the starting point for every view that may be properly held in regard to the subject. But when it is assumed that the theory of verbal inspiration is fundamental to the doctrine of the divine inspiration of the scriptures, then a particular conception is made the basis for a general one. That is standing the pyramid on its apex; but the apex is not fundamental. That the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are inspired writings is a general and fundamental proposition which is accepted by all persons who believe in inspiration at all. But it cannot properly be said that any specific view of inspiration is fundamental. When the book before us declares the theory of verbal inspiration to be one of the fundamentals of christian faith it proclaims a doctrine which many good and loyal christians cannot accept. It is said that the theory of verbal inspiration means that "the original writings, ipsissima verba, came through the penmen direct from God." To this it may be replied that no such writings are in existence. All of the original writings have long since perished. All that we have of them are copies, translations and revisions. But it is held that when these are freed from all the errors and mistakes that have crept into them, then we have the very Word of God. That may mean something to some minds, but to others it does not mean anything practicable. How are these errors and mistakes to be determined and by whom?

According to our mind persons can and do inspire persons. The Spirit of God is a person and can inspire the spirits of other persons. Strictly speaking, things cannot be inspired. We believe that the writers of the scriptures were inspired men, and that their thoughts and words were affected by their inspiration. The Lord God revealed His word to His people and to the world through them. But we do not believe that the word of God passed through them like water flowing through a funnel. The revelation of God's word to them by vision, dream or inward voice was apprehended by their minds and hearts and proclaimed as they saw it. The personal powers of holy men moved by the Spirit of God were called into exercise from beginning to end—and here is where the human element enters into the sacred scriptures. Inspiration is something that can exist only between persons, and not between persons and things. This in brief is our conception of inspiration. Other persons hold different conceptions of it. But neither ours nor any of theirs is fundamental. The sacred scriptures were produced by holy men of old who were under divine inspiration. This is a general and fundamental proposition. But to maintain that the very words of the Bible are fully inspired and that they are the pure words of God as though uttered by His own mouth, unaffected and unlimited by the minds and hearts of the



men by whom they were apprehended and expressed, and to claim that this theory of inspiration is fundamental, we believe to be a mistake, to say the least. We do not regard the theory as true. We consider it a misapprehension of the process of divine revelation made through the scriptures. At any rate it has no more right to claim to be fundamental and essential than any of the other theories of divine revelation.

There are of course many good things and true in this volume. The article on One Isaiah, by Dr. Robinson, of Chicago, seems to us to be a very fair and respectable presentation of his subject. He is not as dogmatic in his statements as some of the other writers in the book. But as said in the beginning we very much doubt whether theological discussion carried on before the general public in any such one-sided manner will in the end enhance the truth or further the interests of the Kingdom of God in the world.

A. E. T.

**THE RE-UNION OF CHRISTENDOM.** By Francis Goodman. Broadway Publishing Company, 835 Broadway, New York. Pages 204. Price \$1.50.

The argument for church union in this volume is presented in the form of a story—"a satire on Codport," a fictitious name for a typical New England town. A vivid picture is drawn, and a friendly criticism made, of the conservatism, sectarianism, social divisions, and commercial stagnation, which prevail in the land of the Puritans. The evident motive, however, of the whole narrative is to submit a solution of the "great question of the age which is agitating the minds of Christians of all denominations at the present day." The viewpoint of the author may be surmised from a single sentence in the preface: "If only all Christian people all over the world were once more united in the bond of love and charity as they were before the sixteenth century, what a happy world this would be." One can readily feel the tendency, from the first chapter onward, toward a re-union of the churches of Codport under the standards of Roman Catholicism. Ministers and members of the different denominations are gradually convinced that the only hope of Christianity in the future is found in the fold of Holy Mother Church.

This sounds very well to Catholic ears, and is the goal for which devout Catholics have prayed for centuries. But few Protestants will find satisfaction in the proposed remedy. As a romance the work will hardly take high rank, since the story is only a setting for an argument and, therefore, necessarily mechanical and forced. As an argument, the book is not at all convincing, and will win the assent of readers only who have already accepted Roman Catholic premises. For them such an argument is altogether a work of supererogation.



As Protestants we may recognize without equivocation the services of the Catholic Church in the history of Christianity, and hold in high regard her institutions and her works even in the twentieth century. Yet we are confident that the solution of the problem of the re-union of Christendom is not found in the direction of Rome. Nor do we believe that any one of the contemporary protestant denominations has the remedy for the healing of sects and schisms in the Church. We shall no more go back to Wittenberg, Geneva or Oxford than to Rome. History does not move backward. The great questions in church and state cannot be solved by re-action or by restoration. The currents of the ages are forward and upward. God is in his world, as Christ is in his church, and is leading men from one stage of progress to another. In the coming re-union of Christendom, for which Catholics and Protestants are praying and laboring, the truth of the two great divisions of the church universal will doubtless be conserved; yet, whatever form Christianity will take, it will not be a mere replica of a previous stage of development, but an advance beyond all periods of Christian history. It is impossible to foretell at present in what form the re-union will come, but that there is a spirit at work in the bosom of Christendom toward such an end, no careful observer of the times will deny.

We welcome works like these, even though we may not agree with their conclusions. They are none the less an evidence that men are seriously thinking on this great question. Each one must approach it from his own point of view, and seek to solve it in his own way. It is only by mutual discussion, conference and agitation, that we shall come into the light, and be able to discern the guidance of God, and hear the voice of the spirit to the churches in the twentieth century. In the meantime, we are to possess our souls in patience; not to fight one another, nor to proselyte, nor to despair, but to be true to the Christ as He manifests Himself in the church to which we belong, to follow His beck and call, and in due time attain the unity for which He prayed.

G. W. R.



# THE REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

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## I.

WILLIAM JAMES.

JOHN S. STAHR.

Professor Josiah Royce, of Harvard University, in delivering the oration before the Harvard chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in June, 1911, said that America had, up to the present time, produced three men, and only three, who deserved to be called representative American philosophers. These are Jonathan Edwards, Ralph Waldo Emerson and William James. He defines a representative philosopher as "one who thinks for himself, fruitfully, with true independence, and with successful inventiveness, about problems of philosophy, and, at the same time, one who gives utterance to philosophical ideas which are characteristic of some stage and of some aspect of the spiritual life of his own people."<sup>1</sup> Accepting the definition thus given there is no room for doubt or hesitation in giving Professor James a place, and many think the first place, among those who stand forth as exponents and leaders of thought in the development of our national life. His versatility and broad scholarship, his keen insight and wide tolerance, his originality in thought and expression,

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, September, 1911, page 1.



enabled him to master the prevailing systems of philosophy, to criticize them, and to formulate his own ideas with a force and clearness rarely found in philosophical literature. At the same time his temper and frame of mind led him continually to lay stress upon the concrete and practical and kept him thus in touch with what are popularly called the realities of our human experience; his ear was close to nature's throbbing heart, so that he heard the pulsations of life and the voices of struggling interests in the human soul as a poet or prophet, fully as much as a philosopher. In this way he was qualified in large measure to serve as the representative of American ideas, of the aspirations and longings of our national life, giving them definite form, and helping to shape them into a semblance to the ideals which he himself cherished and towards which, as he hoped and believed, the world was moving. His geniality and open-heartedness enabled him to see and appreciate the good in all forms of belief and doctrine, even in systems the most remote from his manner of thinking. He detested monism and the philosophy of the absolute, and yet he found good in it, even if it was only to give one occasionally a "moral holiday." He was thoroughly convinced of the absurdity of many of the claims of Christian Science, and yet he went before a committee of the legislature to testify in its behalf in certain aspects of its belief and practice.

He was exceedingly vigorous in thought and expression; particularly happy in the coining of terms and phrases, and in fact a master in the art of putting things in a form that could not fail to attract attention and awaken interest. He wrote philosophy, it has been said, as if it were fiction, while his brother Henry James, Jr., wrote fiction as if it were philosophy. In matter and form, therefore, his writings and lectures are to be reckoned with as giving an account of present-day thought in psychology and ethics, philosophy and religion.

William James was born in New York, January 14, 1842. His father was the Rev. Henry James, who graduated at Union College, studied theology at Princeton and in England.



He afterward embraced the theology and philosophy of Swedenborg, though he never joined the ecclesiastical organization known as the New Church. He accepted the dogma of the full deity of Jesus Christ, but differed from most of the orthodox churches in his view of the Trinity. It will thus be seen that William James's earlier religious associations were Christian, although he himself was never fully identified with the Christian church. We shall have occasion to refer to his attitude later on, but it is well to bear in mind in studying his life and teachings that, as he himself says, he got away from his early religious ideas in his scientific and philosophical studies and treated the question of religion purely from a philosophical point of view. Professor James was a student in the Lawrence Scientific School in Harvard from 1861 to 1863; later he studied medicine from 1863-65, accompanied the Thayer Expedition to Brazil 1865-66, and received the degree of M.D. at Harvard in 1869. He was instructor in physiology from 1872 to 1876, and of anatomy from 1873 to 1876. He was assistant professor of physiology from 1876 to 1880; assistant professor of philosophy from 1880 to 1885; professor of philosophy from 1885 to 1889; professor of psychology, 1889 to 1897; professor of philosophy, 1897 to 1907. He became emeritus professor in 1907, and continued such to the time of his death in August, 1910.

It will be seen thus that Professor James's interest and work lay largely in scientific and philosophical studies. The fact that he had studied medicine, that he was thoroughly conversant with anatomy and physiology and the various branches of biological science, was of great value in his psychological and philosophical studies. He devoted himself, of course, largely to the lines of work involved in the positions which he successively held as instructor and professor in Harvard University, but his influence and his labors were much more far-reaching. He was noted as a lecturer, and delivered courses in the leading universities in this country and in Europe, and he was a prolific writer, contributing largely to



the scientific and philosophical journals of the day. As examples of work done outside of his regular university courses we may refer to his "Talks to Teachers," the "Ingersoll Lectures on Immortality," the "Varieties of Religious Experience," the two books on "Pragmatism," and "What is Truth," and the essays on "The Will to Believe," the "Dilemma of Determinism," and "A Pluralistic Universe." The freshness and vigor of his thought, the charm of his style, and the geniality of spirit manifest in all these writings prove so attractive that one does not easily take up any one of them and lay it aside without following his train of thought to the end.

It is natural to speak of Professor James as the psychologist; perhaps his reputation as a scholar and thinker rests more especially upon his labors in this field; and yet it must be borne in mind that his philosophy, his view of the world, his spirit of work and inquiry in all departments of knowledge give tone and character to his labors in this field. He calls himself a "pragmatic realist"; sometimes a "radical empiricist." His critics charge him with a tendency to estimate things generally for their "cash value." It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that in emphasizing the concrete and the practical, and insisting upon the fact that all truth is truth only as it looks to and has practical consequences, he means to deny the reality of moral ideas and standards of conduct, other and higher than those which you find in the business life of this practical age. He believes in higher ideals; he emphasizes moral responsibility; he stands with head uncovered in the presence of what men regard as supernatural realities; and yet he insists that we know these higher realities, we have use for these moral standards, we are sure of the meaning of things only as they become a matter of daily experience and guide us through the mazes of our earthly life to a better and brighter world which we ourselves must help to create.

There is probably no work on psychology extant in the English language or for that matter in any other language, that is



as fascinating and illuminating in its discussion of psychological problems as James's larger work in two volumes. This does not mean that his conclusions and theories are to be always accepted. In point of fact, Professor James does not by any means speak the last word on many of the topics discussed; but there is a clearness in the statement of different views, a keenness of criticism, an aptness of illustration, and a skill in argument which interest and instruct the student at the same time that they put the thinker upon his mettle and make him anxious to test and to follow out to the farthest limits the lines of thought laid down by the author.

The first thing we have to notice in this connection is the fact that James differs radically from Kant at the very outset in his theory of perception and conception. The older psychologists generally assume that we perceive first of all, individual things; we have single sensations which are combined and developed into percepts, and groups of percepts are made to reach their significance in the concept. James, on the other hand, insists that consciousness at first is not of single things. The primitive consciousness, as he describes it, is a "big, blooming, buzzing confusion." It is only gradually by the process of attention and dissociation that single things, sensations emerge out of this primeval chaos, and, in course of time, the percept, in which dwells all the fullness of reality, as we can know it, is developed. By the process of abstraction and generalization we form the concept, that is, we get a thought or an idea, which becomes a permanent thing for the mind. The percept undergoes changes, it appears, disappears, or changes, as the case may be, but the concept cannot vary or unfold or develop. The concept, therefore, is not that in which we find the fullest expression of reality, it is only a means or an instrument for the mind to work with, in order that it may carry on its higher processes of association—memory and thought. But the stress in James's thinking lies all the time upon the percept and the perceptual order, as that which has its full reality in the world of sense by which we are confronted.



The second peculiarity to which we may call attention is his theory of the ego, and of the consciousness of personal identity. After a keen criticism of the "mind-stuff" theory, that is, of a diffused universal consciousness throughout nature, of materialism, of associationism, and of transcendentalism, James finds that the core of consciousness is what he calls the "stream of thought." Mind, for him, is but another name for the succession of mental states, which are linked together by the passing thought, each one receiving from its predecessor the memory of the past and all that it involves. The difference between the thoughts of one distinct consciousness or ego, and another such ego, is found in the fact that there is a peculiar warmth, or sense of familiarity in what is my own, which does not pertain to that which is another's, and that when thoughts, that is, states of mind arise which have this peculiar warmth or sense of familiarity, I recognize them as my own, and taking this in connection with the ever-present sense of influences which come from the body and all its various forms of activity, we get, in that way, a personal identity which needs no spiritual agent or substantive mind apart from this stream of thought itself.

It may be said, of course, in criticism of this theory of personal identity, that thought necessarily requires a thinker, and that James's theory is, therefore, inadequate. It must be borne in mind, however, that his love for the real and concrete makes him reluctant to adopt, as a fact, anything that cannot be actually verified as a part of our experience. He does not deny that there may be such a thing as mind, or a spiritual ego, but he says all that we are conscious of is the passing thought, and that this is really all that is necessary to account for all the facts of consciousness with which the psychologist has to deal.

The most distinctive feature of James's psychology is his theory of the emotions, usually called the James-Lange theory, because it was propounded about the same time by James in this country and by Lange in Denmark and Germany.



James's own statement of the theory is as follows: "Our natural way of thinking about the coarser emotions is that the mental perception of some fact excites the mental affection called the emotion, and that the latter state of mind gives rise to the bodily expression. My theory, on the contrary, is that the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur, is the emotion. Common sense says, we lose our fortune, are sorry and weep; we meet a bear, are frightened, and run; we are insulted by a rival, are angry and strike. The hypothesis here to be defended says that this order of sequence is incorrect; that the one mental state is not immediately induced by the other, that the bodily manifestations must first be interposed between and that the more rational statement is that we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble, and not that we cry, strike, or tremble because we are sorry, angry, or fearful, as the case may be. Without the bodily states following on the perception, the latter would be purely cognitive in form, bare, colorless, destitute of emotional warmth. We might, then, see the bear and judge it best to run; receive the insult, and deem it right to strike; but we should not feel *afraid* or *angry*."<sup>2</sup> This is, of course, a crude and epigrammatical way of stating the theory, and we must not understand James to mean it in this literal way. He does insist, however, that the sensational and perceptive experience simply brings about a series of bodily changes, and that the feeling of the changes which thus take place in the body is really what we call the emotion. The main argument by which he supports the theory is this: "If we fancy some strong emotion, and then try to abstract from our consciousness of it all the feelings of its bodily symptoms, we find that we have nothing left behind; no mind stuff, out of which the emotion can be constituted, and that a cold and neutral state of intellectual perception is all that remains." This theory has, no doubt, been useful in calling attention to

<sup>2</sup> James's *Psychology*, Briefer Course, page 375.



one feature of the emotions that is often overlooked, namely, the reflex influence of bodily conditions; but it is quite another thing to say that these bodily conditions constitute the whole of the emotion. In the first place it is not clear why a cold, intellectual perception should produce the bodily changes to which James refers. It is much easier to suppose that the perception of approaching danger produces an excited state of mind and that this brings about the changed bodily conditions. These, no doubt, enter into the complex feeling as a whole, and make a part of the emotion, but not the whole of it, nor its essence. Attention needs but to be called to the fact that the same bodily symptoms may accompany very different emotions, and that the same emotion produces very different bodily conditions in different individuals. Tears may be tears of grief, tears of anger or tears of joy, and yet these emotions are wholly different. Again, there is such a thing as stony grief without any tears at all. It is only when the emotion finds an outlet in bodily conditions that its paroxysm passes and its force is spent. Take the well-known lines from Tennyson's "Princess":

"Home they brought her warrior dead,  
She nor swooned, nor uttered cry,  
All her maidens watching said,  
She must weep or she will die."

In view of these facts, the best psychologists are not prepared to adopt the James-Lange theory.

Another striking feature of James's psychology is his treatment of the will. Evolutionary psychologists are disposed to adopt the theory of determinism. They say that although we think we are free in the act of willing, the whole process involves a foregone conclusion and the result follows from the nature and weight of the different motives, as does the resultant in physics, when a number of forces, acting in different directions are compounded. Huxley says that animals are only molecular machines, and man is only a higher animal; consequently it would seem absurd to say that there is any



room for real choice in the act of volition. In opposition to all this James takes strong ground in favor of free will. He admits that the solution of the problem cannot be reached from the standpoint of psychology; that you cannot lay your finger on the precise spot where freedom of volition lies; but he claims that by a concentration of attention upon this motive or that, the agent can make it stronger, as he chooses, and thus give it the victory. It is, however, especially on moral grounds, that he becomes the champion of free will. In his "Dilemma of Determinism" he says, "If a certain formula for expressing the nature of the world violates my moral demand I shall feel as free to throw it overboard, or at least to doubt it, as if it disappointed my demand for uniformity of sequence, for example; the one demand being, so far as I can see, quite as subjective and emotional as the other. The principle of causality, for example,—what is it but a postulate, an empty name covering simply a demand that the sequence of events shall some day manifest a deeper kind of belonging of one thing with another than the mere arbitrary juxtaposition which now phenomenally appears? It is as much an altar to an unknown god as the one that Saint Paul found at Athens. All our scientific and philosophic ideals are altars to unknown gods. Uniformity is as much so as free-will."<sup>3</sup> "What does determinism profess? It professes that those parts of the universe already laid down absolutely appoint and decree what the other parts shall be. The future has no ambiguous possibilities hidden in its womb: the part we call the present is compatible with only one totality. Any other future complement than the one fixed from eternity is impossible. The whole is in each and every part, and welds it with the rest into an absolute unity, an iron block, in which there can be no equivocation or shadow of turning.

‘With earth’s first clay they did the last man knead,  
And there of the last harvest sowed the seed,  
And the first morning of creation wrote  
What the last dawn of reckoning shall read.’

<sup>3</sup> James’s *Will to Believe*, page 147.



“Indeterminism, on the contrary, says that the parts have a certain amount of loose play on one another, so that the laying down of one of them does not necessarily determine what the others shall be. It admits that possibilities may be in excess of actualities, and that things not yet revealed to our knowledge may really in themselves be ambiguous. Of two alternative futures which we conceive, both may now be really possible; and the one become impossible only at the very moment when the other excludes it by becoming real itself. Indeterminism thus denies the world to be one unbending unit of fact. It says there is a certain ultimate pluralism in it; and, so saying, it corroborates our ordinary unsophisticated view of things. To that view, actualities seem to float in a wider sea of possibilities from out of which they are chosen; and, somewhere, indeterminism says, such possibilities exist, and form a part of truth.”<sup>4</sup>

Such a view of the world, he admits, may, in a certain way seem irrational but every alternative to it is irrational in a deeper way. “The indeterminism with its maggots, if you please to speak so about it, offends only the native absolutism of my intellect, an absolutism which, after all, perhaps deserves to be snubbed and kept in check. But the determinism, with its necessary carrion, to continue the figure of speech, and with no possible maggots to eat the latter up, violates my sense of morality through and through.”<sup>5</sup> And this view, he thinks, is not inconsistent with the notion of a Providence governing the world, provided you do not restrict that Providence to formulating nothing but fatal decrees. If you allow Providence to provide possibilities as well as actualities to the universe, and to carry on His own thinking in those two categories just as we do ours, chances may be there uncontrolled even by Him, and the course of the universe be really ambiguous, and yet the end of all things may be just what He intended it to be from all eternity.

<sup>4</sup> James's *Will to Believe*, page 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, page 177.



The phenomenon of so-called double personality has recently attracted a great deal of attention and different theories have been advanced in explanation of the curious facts which come under this head. These facts take a very wide range, beginning with comparatively simple experiences in our daily life, of changed moods, of utter forgetfulness of whole series of facts, of new attitudes toward men and things which come and go without our being able to account for them. Then we have states supervening in cases of hysteria, and mental affections where the change is much more far reaching and complete; and finally we have instances like that portrayed by Mr. Stevenson in his "Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," where the whole personality changes, and the individual seems to live in two forms of consciousness, almost, or entirely independent of each other. As an illustration we may take the case of Mr. Ansel Bourne, a carpenter of Greene, Rhode Island, who was converted from atheism to Christianity in his thirtieth year, and then became an itinerant preacher. In January, 1887, he took \$550 from a bank in Providence, with which to pay for a certain lot of land in Greene, and got into a Pawtucket horse car. That was the last heard of him for two months. A few weeks later a stranger, calling himself A. J. Browne, came to Norristown, Penna., rented a small shop, stocked it with stationery, confectionery and fruit, and carried on his business in a quiet way, without seeming to any one unnatural or eccentric. On the morning of March 14, he woke up, said his name was Ansel Bourne, he was entirely ignorant of Norristown, knew nothing of shop keeping, and the last thing he remembered was drawing the money from the bank in Providence. His physician thought he was insane, but telegraphing to Providence, he found that he spoke the truth, and his nephew, Mr. Andrew Harris, came and took him home. Several weeks, between the time of his disappearance in Rhode Island and his appearance in Pennsylvania, remained unaccounted for, until it occurred to Professor James that by hypnotizing him it might be possible to clear up the mystery.



Mr. Bourne readily passed into the hypnotic state and thus became again Mr. Browne. He had heard of Ansel Bourne but did not know that he had ever met him. When confronted by Mrs. Bourne he said he had never seen her before, but he gave a minute account of his journeys during the last fortnight, and all the details of the Norristown episode.

Cases of this kind Professor James calls split personalities, and he accounts for them by assuming that our ordinary states of consciousness depend upon the coöperation of a large number of brain centers. When these fail to work in one connection, or are thrown out of gear, as he calls it, new combinations are formed, and an entirely different state of consciousness of disposition, and of personal identity results. Going hand in hand with this are other cases,<sup>6</sup> where an individual, in his ordinary waking consciousness, will carry on a conversation or one train of thought, and at the same time will write automatically and unconsciously something entirely different, as if the hand were controlled by a different person. From this there is but a step to mediumship, and the whole field of psychical phenomena which lies beyond our normal experience and which led to the field of inquiry undertaken especially by the Society for Psychical Research in which Professor James was very deeply interested.

As a philosopher, Professor James is fully identified with what is usually called pragmatism. He is perhaps one of its first exponents, certainly one of its most prominent ones; although he has too clear a head to accept the extreme views of some of the writers who belong to the pragmatic school. The term "Pragmatism" and the specific doctrine for which it stands is the outgrowth of an article published by Mr. C. S. Peirce in the *Popular Science Monthly*, 1878. The article was called "How to Make our Ideas Clear," and in it Mr. Peirce laid down the thesis that the whole meaning of any subject consists in the habit or reaction which it establishes or in-

<sup>6</sup> Case of Mr. Sidney Dean, of Warren, R. I. James's *Psych.*, Vol. I, p. 394.



duces, directly or indirectly, in us. "Consider what effects, which might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the object of our conception to have, then our conception of these effects is the whole of our conception of the object." The word practical is here used in its strict sense as referring to action, from the Greek word *pragma*, and in this way the name pragmatism came to designate the system of thought adopted by the new school of writers. The literature of pragmatism is very large, and there is a good deal of divergence, both of expression and thought, in the pragmatist camp. To understand more fully what the doctrine implies we may look at it from three different points of view, namely, that of psychology, that of logic, and that of metaphysics. In the first sense, Mr. Schiller defines it as the thorough recognition that the purposive character of mental life generally must influence and pervade also our most remote cognitive activities. There is no exception to be taken to the doctrine in this sense, and, in fact, it has served useful purposes in the philosophical discussions of the day. From the logical point of view pragmatism teaches that the conception or use, value or consequences of a reality forms part of the conception of it; or, that the conception of a reality consists solely in the conception of its use or value. The first of these alternatives is readily granted. It is the second especially against which the opposition to pragmatism is directed. It is claimed that the conception of an object, situation, or truth, as it includes awareness of its practical consequences, is more than a conception of its future, its results, or its use. Metaphysical pragmatism is the doctrine that reality is to be defined in the terms of progressively unfolding experience, and that there is, therefore, no absolute or complete reality. This form of pragmatism necessarily involves Pluralism, and it is usually expressed in the form of what is called Humanism. It means that there is no absolute being or absolute truth not relative to human faculties and human needs, that whatever we may know of reality in any form, can be known only so far as the reality enters into hu-



man experience, and forms a part of the processes of human life.

The two outstanding features of pragmatism are then first, a method of philosophizing, and secondly, a conception of truth, both of which are claimed to be new and of prime importance. It has already been said that James, as one of the leading exponents of pragmatism, is a thoroughgoing realist, or, as he himself says, a "radical empirist." He has room in his philosophy, of course, for the ideal, and he is sometimes classified as a "personal idealist," but all knowledge, he insists, begins in the perceptual order and the highest flights which it can attain must come back to the perceptual order, that is, they must find their validity or their verification in the perceptual order. "Grant an idea or a belief to be true. What concrete difference will its being true make in any one's actual life? What experiences may be different from those which would obtain if the belief were false? What, in short, is the truth's cash value in experiential terms?"<sup>7</sup> The answer comes immediately: *True ideas are those which we can assimilate, validate, corroborate, and verify; false ideas are those we can not.* The truth of an idea is not a stagnant property inherent in it. Truth happens to an idea; it becomes true, is made true by events. Its validity is, in fact, an event, a process, the process, namely, of its verifying itself—its verification. Its validity is the process of its validation. Truth, therefore, is, in a sense, made by the mind, or it grows in the process of human experience, and, strictly speaking, there are for man no transcendent truths, no *a priori* ideas. All such come from perceptual experience and must be verifiable in that order. "For rationalistic writers, conceptual knowledge was not only the more noble knowledge, but it originated independently of all perceptual particulars. Such concepts as God, perfection, eternity, infinity, mutability, identity, absolute beauty, truth, justice, necessity, freedom, duty, worth, etc., and the part they play in our mind are, it was supposed,

<sup>7</sup> *What is Truth?* Pref., p. v.



impossible to explain as results of practical experience. The empiricist's view, and probably the true view, is that they do result from practical experience."<sup>8</sup> "If the aim of philosophy were the taking full possession of all reality by the mind, then nothing short of the whole of immediate perceptual experience could be the subject matter of philosophy. For only in such experiences is reality intimately and concretely found. But the philosopher, although he is unable as a finite being, to compass more than a few passing moments of such experience, is yet able to extend his knowledge beyond such moments by the ideal symbol of the other moments. He thus commands vicariously, innumerable percepts that are out of range but the concepts by which he does this, by thin extracts from perception are always insufficient representatives thereof; and although they yield wider information, must never be treated after the rationalistic fashion, as if they gave a deeper quality of truth. The deeper features of reality are found only in perceptual experience."<sup>9</sup> The working of the mind, therefore, in the acquisition of knowledge, leads us, step by step, through the realm of actual experience, so that we learn to connect one thing with another, and determine the place and relation of each in the whole complex. In other words, we gain truth *non per saltum, sed ambulando*. It will be seen thus that intuition and *a priori* ideas are ruled out altogether, or, at all events, given a subordinate place as leading only to hypotheses, which are to be subsequently verified before they become true.

The definition of truth, that it is the agreement of our ideas with reality, Professor James says is accepted by both intellectualists and pragmatists. But the two schools differ widely as to their interpretation of the terms *agreement* and *reality*, and of the sphere and scope, therefore, which are to be assigned to the conception *truth*. The pragmatist says a conception or idea agrees with reality if it has practical conse-

<sup>8</sup> *Some Problems of Philosophy*, page 55.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, page 96.



quences which will work, if it leads to, or results in a future state that falls in with the details of our knowledge and experiences in other respects, and thus gives satisfaction to the mind. Given two ideas or concepts, however differently they may be worded, if they have the same consequences, if they produce the same results, they must be, in essence, the same; and given two concepts, which seem to be alternatives, if they have no possible future bearing on human experience, they do not lie within the realm of truth, they have no meaning, and they cannot be said to be either true or false. To these statements the critics of pragmatism, among the keenest of whom is Professor James B. Pratt, assistant professor of philosophy in Williams College, take exception. They assert that, in the first place, the reality to which our ideas correspond may lie beyond the realm of human experience. In the second place the true relation may exist where there are no possible future consequences to be expected. It may be added that ideas sometimes do work when in fact they are not true. Take for example the theory of Epicycles used in the Ptolemaic astronomy to account for the apparent retrograde motion of the superior planets, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. We know that this apparent motion is due to the motion of the earth in opposite directions, in different parts of its orbit. But the other theory brought satisfactory results to the ancient astronomers, although no one would pretend to say that it was true. Professor Pratt says that an idea is true if it agrees with the reality for which it stands, if it is *as* the reality. Now the truth, he says, lies not in its verification or its consequences, but in the *as-ness*; it is true before it is demonstrated, and its truth includes more than its consequences, although, of course, the consequences are a part of it.

Of this philosophy, Professor James, is, as we have said, one of the leading exponents. Indeed, the spirit of pragmatism is manifest in all the spheres of his manifold activities. His philosophy proper, however, is more fully expressed in the two volumes of essays called *A Pluralistic Universe*, and the



*Will to Believe.* The viewpoint is expressed in the former, the practical bearing of it in the latter. It cannot be said that his philosophy is a system of thought, for he was not systematic. He is, however, a keen critic of other systems, and especially of monistic Hegelianism, and room is afforded in this way for the promulgation of his own view at different points in the discussion. His first objection lies against absolutism and determinism, which, according to his view, involves a fixed system of things from beginning to end, in which there is no shadow of variableness or turning; and he speaks with a great deal of contempt of what he calls a "block-universe," one which is ready made, or follows of necessity step by step in the process of its unfolding. His universe is one in the making, and it involves the working of many forces or agents, among which are you and I; no logical absolute, nor even an omnipotent God has determined beforehand what it shall be in its totality, or in all its details. "The difference between monism and pluralism is perhaps the most pregnant of all the differences in philosophy. *Prima facie*, the world is a pluralism; as we find it, its unity seems to be that of any collection; and our higher thinking consists chiefly of an effort to redeem it from that first crude form. Postulating more unity than the first experiences yield, we also discover more. But the absolute unity, in spite of brilliant dashes in its direction, still remains undiscovered, still remains a *Grenzbegriff*. 'Ever not quite' must be the rationalistic philosopher's last confession concerning it. After all that reason can do has been done, there still remains the opacity of the finite facts as merely given, with most of their peculiarities mutually unmediated and unexplained. To the very last, there are the various 'points of view' which the philosopher must distinguish in discussing the world; and what is inwardly clear from one point remains a bare externality and datum to the other. The negative, the alogical, is never wholly banished. Something—'call it fate, chance, freedom, spontaneity, the devil, what you will'—is still wrong and other and outside and unincluded,



from your point of view, even though you be the greatest of philosophers. Something is always mere fact and givenness; and there may be in the whole universe no one point of view extant from which this would not be found to be the case. 'Reason' as a gifted writer says, 'is but one item in the mystery; and behind the proudest consciousness that ever reigned, reason and wonder blushed face to face. The inevitable stales, while doubt and hope are sisters. Not unfortunately the universe is wild—game flavored as a hawk's wing. Nature is miracle all; the same returns not save to bring the different. The slow round of the engraver's lathe gains but the breadth of a hair, but the difference is distributed back over the whole curve, never an instant true—ever not quite.'"<sup>10</sup> Two consequences follow: first, this view necessarily involves human responsibility for the world that is to be; secondly, if things are not fixed, and reason at any point is unable to fathom the condition of things, "the will to believe," in order to accept, is necessary when options are forced upon us, as in the nature of the case, the problems of life will force them.

James has been charged with teaching that will has the power of making belief, and that you may believe what you please if you choose to do so. This is, of course, a misrepresentation. He does not teach any such nonsense, and has quite as much regard for reason and logic as any other philosopher. The point of his contention, however, is this: cases will continually arise when a real option is before the mind. He means by that that the issue for the person who has to choose is alive and not dead; secondly, that the option is forced or unavoidable; and thirdly that it is momentous. These three elements make what he calls a genuine option. Now, in such a case he contends that it is the part of wisdom to take counsel of our hopes rather than of our fears, that is to say, choose the alternative which promises a substantial good rather than the other one, for fear of making a mistake. In line with Mr. Balfour's reasoning in "Foundations of Belief," he says that

<sup>10</sup> *Will to Believe*, Preface, p. 8.



although we think we are guided by reason in our professions of scientific or political or religious belief, we receive them largely on authority. We accept them as true and we act as if they were true without stopping to investigate each question for ourselves, or to verify the conclusions which we accept. In some of his Harvard lectures he speaks of what he calls the faith-ladder, which, he holds, presents a process which is not only justifiable but in many instances the only one to be pursued. "A conception of the world arises in us somehow, no matter how. Is it true or not you ask? It *might* be true somewhere you say, for it is not self-contradictory. It *may* be true, you continue, even here and now; it is *fit* to be true; *it would be well if it were true*; it *ought* to be true, you presently feel. It *must* be true, something persuasive in you whispers next; and then—as a final result—it shall *be held for true*, you decide; it shall be as if true for you. And your acting thus may in certain special cases be a means of making it securely true in the end."<sup>11</sup> This principle he applies, not only to a view of the world, or to the problems of our daily life, but also to matters of religion. The claims of religion especially are forced upon us from so many sides that we are obliged to recognize the force of the claim. True, on the other hand, there is no positive demonstration which is all-convincing, and therefore it is possible that the claims are not valid. Here there is a genuine option. I must here choose to recognize the claims of religion and act accordingly, or refuse to recognize them, which also is choice. It is much better and safer, therefore, to will to accept these claims and act accordingly, for to refuse, if they should be true, means total loss; and accepting them and acting upon them in the end may make them true, or verify them. The power itself ascribed to the will to believe is potent, and it rests upon a clearer authority than that of James: "If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak for myself" (John, 7:17).

<sup>11</sup> *A Pluralistic Universe*, pp. 328-9.



James's attitude toward religion is more fully expressed in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, a work which is of very great importance from different points of view. It shows his keen insight into the workings of the human mind and the candid spirit with which he meets all the aspects of human experience, so as to do them full justice. He divides men into two classes; the once born and the twice born. He means by the former the men of sunny disposition and even temper, who feel satisfied with themselves, have noble aspirations, and work toward the realization of their ideal without any great conflict or disturbance of mind. The others are those who find themselves beset by sin and temptation, and who have to struggle out of the prison house into the freedom which comes, as it were, by a new birth. He lays much stress on the Mystics' claim of true communion and fellowship with God, and makes account of all the various forms of religious phenomena with which history makes us familiar. He finds, in the first place, that man is "incurably religious," that is to say, the religious consciousness, the sense of a higher power, the feeling of something beyond to which we all owe allegiance, is innate and universal, at least so much so as to justify the term. In the second place he finds that the mystic frame of mind, as it prevails among men of all creeds, and in all ages, makes claims so definite and strong of an immediate experience of a Divine Being, that you must necessarily give them weight. And in the third place he feels convinced that the changes which he has seen in men's lives, the effects produced through religious influences are so real that they constitute a strong argument in favor of a reality back of these forms of belief and practice.

It will be seen thus that James's thinking leads to a positive evaluation of religion from the standpoint of human experience; and much account has been made of this fact. It must be admitted, however, that no matter how valuable or important these facts may be from the one side, they are painfully lacking on the other. It is the same "ever not quite," which



we have met before. Religion is not merely human, and it cannot be understood as a merely human phenomenon. It implies and recognizes the incoming of the Divine; a something not wrought by man, but wrought in man by a Higher Power, so as to satisfy the demands of faith, and afford full satisfaction to the restless longings of the soul. The lack of this is the painful void that is found in the religious literature of the day, which looks upon religion as a purely human development like art or morality. James himself is a pathetic example of what we mean. He fails to take his own medicine and therefore finds his longings unsatisfied. To show the personal side of his religion I will give an extract from a letter written to Prof. James H. Leuba, quoted by Professor Pratt in the *Hibbert Journal* for August, 1911. "If mystical states, with all their differences have a common nucleus, then this nucleus should be reckoned a coördinate factor with reason in the building up of religious belief. The intellect is interpretative and critical of its own interpretation; but there must have been a thesis to interpret, and that thesis seems to me to be the non-rational sense of a "higher" power. Religious men largely agree that this sense has been that of their "best" moments, best not only in passing but when looked back upon. The notion of it has leaked into mankind from their authority, the rest of us being imitative, just as we are of scientific men's opinions. Now may not this mystical testimony that there is a God be true, even though the precise determinations, being so "largely suggestive" contributions of our rational factor, should widely differ? It seems to me that to throw out the whole mystical life from a hearing, because of the facility with which it combines with discrepant interpretation, would be like throwing out the senses for a similar reason, from recognition as a factor of our "rational" knowledge. Is there diabolic mysticism? Even so there is toothache, nausea, vertigo, "nervousness." It is evident that our data are complex, however we confine them, and that *sifting* is necessary, be the mystical door left open or kept closed. The truth is what



will survive the sifting, sifting, by successive generations and "on the whole."

"I find it preposterous to suppose that if there be a feeling of unseen reality shared by large numbers of best men in their best moments, responded to by other men in their 'deep' moments, good to live by, strength giving, I find it preposterous, I say, to suppose that the goodness of that feeling for living purposes should be held to carry no objective significance, and especially preposterous if it combines harmoniously with our otherwise grounded philosophy of objective truth.

"My personal position is simple. I have no living sense of commerce with God. I envy those who have, for I know that the addition of such a sense would help me greatly. The Divine, for my active life, is limited to impersonal and abstract concepts which, as ideals, interest and determine me, but do so but faintly in comparison with what a feeling of God might effect if I had one. This, to be sure, is largely a matter of intensity, but a shade of intensity may make one's whole center of moral energy shift.

"Now, although I am so devoid of *Gottesbewusstsein* in the directer and stronger sense, yet there is something in me which makes response when I hear utterances from that quarter made by others. I recognize the deeper voice. Something tells me 'Thither lies truth.' And I am sure it is not old theistic prejudices of infancy. Those in my case were Christian, but I have grown so out of Christianity that entanglement therewith on the part of a mystical utterance has to be abstracted from and overcome before I can listen. Call this, if you like, my mystical germ. It is a very common germ. It creates the rank and file of believers. As it withstands in my case, so it will withstand in most cases, all purely atheistic criticism; but interpretative criticism (not of the mere 'hysteric' and 'nerves' order) it can energetically combine with."

The subject of religion considered in this way from two points of view leads to another field of inquiry with which Professor James's name has been permanently identified. It



tells, on the one hand, the forms of human experience that take cognizance of a transcending something which we cannot apprehend through the senses and the operations of reason as such. In addition to this it involves the question of immortality, or the reality of spirit existence after death. We have already seen that in psychology Professor James avoids the use of the word soul or spirit to indicate the nature of mind. We have also seen that in the study of abnormal forms of personality he raises the question as to the extent to which the various phenomena of telepathy, clairvoyance and mediumship can be accounted for without resorting to the theory of spiritual influences operating upon the human personality, in what we call abnormal states. Orthodox science has been in the habit hitherto, either of offering a purely materialistic explanation, or of setting aside the whole series of phenomena as forms of hallucination and superstitious beliefs. Professor James was actively connected with the Society for Psychical Research, a society not composed of spiritualists who cherish a certain cult, and engage in certain practices with full belief that they are face to face with influences from the spirit world; but rather of hard-headed, or as James would say, tough-minded students of science who undertake to investigate all these abnormal phenomena by scientific methods, and in the interest of scientific knowledge. Professor James thinks that the researches of this Society have shown the necessity which is upon orthodox science to make earnest with these problems, and that it has won for them a place in the field of legitimate inquiry. He assumes, as a working hypothesis, the theory proposed by F. W. H. Myers of a superliminal consciousness, extending beyond the realm of our ordinary normal consciousness, and he thinks that the Society, in its inquiries and proceedings, has demonstrated the fact that there are conditions and influences apparent which cannot be explained on the ground of any known powers possessed by the ordinary or normal mind. The theory assumes that our ordinary consciousness is like the solar spectrum, which, as we know, is



extended by lower rays beyond the red and higher rays beyond the violet. Ordinary consciousness corresponds to the colored part of the spectrum. At the lower end we have subnormal conditions, the physiological extension in the form of mind-cure, stigmatization, of ecstasies, etc., and at the upper end we have the hypernormal cognitions of the medium trance. Now, although he thinks this theory is far from being established, he claims that it is the first attempt to bring all these various phenomena from hallucination on up to mediumship together, as connected parts of one whole subject. Undoubtedly the investigations of the Society have brought to light an immense amount of either superstition or downright fraud; but he claims that that is not a sufficient reason for relegating all these phenomena to the same category. He says that if you are to prove that not all crows are black, it is not necessary to prove that all crows are white; you prove your proposition if you show one white crow. Now he says Mrs. Piper is his white crow, a trance medium whom he has personally investigated for a number of years, under conditions which make fraud utterly impossible, and with results which can in no way be referred to her own powers, or the activity of her normal mind. What they are and where they come from has not been scientifically demonstrated. Many of them may be accounted for on the principle of telepathy, but there is a residuum of phenomena and results of which the influence of discarnate spirits seems to be as yet the only solution. If this solution is granted it will afford an explanation of mystical religious experiences brought about in this realm of supra-normal consciousness, and demonstrate the existence of the soul or spirit after death.

As we have said, the Society contains members who are eminent in various departments of science and whilst some of them, Mr. Podmore for instance, are still skeptical, many more, among whom are Oliver Lodge, Mr. Balfour, Professor Crooks, and we may say Professor James, are convinced of the reality of the phenomena, and have no explanation other than that which has been suggested. On the other hand there are those



like Sir Oliver Lodge who claim that they have had absolutely convincing evidence of messages which could have come only from men who have passed through the gateway of death into the Great Beyond. Professor James was very much interested in questions of this kind, and it is well known that before his death he promised a number of his friends that if it were possible, he would, after his departure return to them and give them evidence of his continued existence. The question may fairly be asked, Has he fulfilled this promise? It is well known that there has appeared in the newspapers of the day within the last few months an article purporting to come from members of the American Institute for Scientific Research; this article claims that at least on six different occasions, from the evening of October 22, 1910, to March, 1911, Professor James, through a medium, has communicated with members of the Society and that he has thus fulfilled his promise. One statement is to the effect that within forty-eight hours of his death he sent a message to one of the members through a medium before the medium had heard of his decease. This is important if true; but it does not necessarily prove a communication from the spirit world. It might have been a case of telepathy. It must be said that the communications reported to have been received are of such a nature and there is such an absolute want of identification, or proof of personal identity, that a tough-minded thinker may have serious doubts as to their genuineness. This does not mean that the persons concerned are consciously practicing fraud, but simply that they may be taking the workings of the medium's own subliminal consciousness for communications from Professor James. There is the usual statement of the very great difficulties which the spirit experiences in communicating with the circle of friends. The expression of the hope that by and by he will learn to do it better; that in the sphere of his present existence the tendency is so strong to soar to higher realms of thought and activity, and to get away from contact with the life of this world, that it requires a great deal of effort to resist



the impulse. There is a reiteration again and again of desire to offer proof of personal identity, but not a scintilla is forthcoming, and in connection with all this we have some performances which are exceedingly trivial, and to an outsider, seem to be foolish; for instance, Professor James, speaking through the medium, greets his friends in the circle, and he is introduced to a number of others whom he does not know, and he shakes hands with them by proxy, and says he is glad to meet them. To any one who knew Professor James, and the seriousness with which he treated questions of this kind, the whole appearance of things is very far from reassuring. It is said, however, that the Society has received some more significant communications and some which possess positive evidential value. These have not yet been published. If there are such, they will no doubt appear in the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. Meanwhile we are fully justified in the opinion that the publication of such trivialities prejudices the whole case.

After this cursory survey of a very wide field, what shall we say of William James? First of all, I think, we shall find, as we said at the beginning, that his robust, vigorous thinking, his restless activity, his love for the concrete and practical, his insistent demand that the truth of all ideas shall be tested by their empirical consequences, are in line with and representative of our American life and spirit, the keynote of which seems to be found in the gospel of "efficiency." But, in the second place, it would be a great mistake to suppose then when he speaks of the "cash value" of ideas, and lays stress upon their "consequences," he means to emphasize the importance of pecuniary success and worldly prosperity. He represents, rather, the better spirit of our striving, the realization of high ideals; and he enforces with all the power at his command the claims of duty and the responsibility which is upon us to make the world better and happier by cherishing the things that are true, and honorable, and just, and pure and lovely, and of good report. And, although for him the ideals of life



are not given us in their totality and have to be made and striven for, he brings us face to face with unseen realities and justifies the hope expressed by Tennyson:

“Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

. . . . .  
Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range;  
Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change.

LANCASTER, PA.



## II.

### THE MARKS OF THE PROPHET.<sup>1</sup>

FLOYD W. TOMKINS.

“As He spake by the mouth of His holy prophets, which have been since the world began.”—St. Luke 1: 70.

This magnificent and inspired declaration of the Jewish priest Zacharias, uttered at the feast of the circumcision of his son John, gives, as it were, a bird's-eye view over the whole world's history and asserts a truth of the first importance. Since God made the world He has always had witnesses, messengers, preachers amongst men. Never since the Almighty gave shape to His divine love in the creation of matter and of man has He separated Himself from His creation. Even amongst heathen nations, as St. Paul declared at Lystra, “He left not Himself without witness, in that He did good, and gave rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling men's hearts with food and gladness.” And somewhere on the earth there were as well personal witnesses always, connecting links, as it were, between the Creator and the created. Modern science has never succeeded in overthrowing this great fact, though some scientists have ignored it. The noblest and wisest have acknowledged it and echoed St. Paul's words: “The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead.” Prophets, then, are men of no mean order, for they have a succession not merely

<sup>1</sup> The Annual Sermon delivered May 8, 1912, by the Reverend Floyd W. Tomkins, D.D., LL.D., of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, Pa., before the graduating class of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, at Lancaster, Pa.



apostolic but age-long. And they who cry for a *new* revelation are at fault in that they fail to hear the message which has been coming from God, and has never been silenced, since Jehovah declared concerning His work, "it is very good." If it had been left for man to work his way upward to a knowledge of God—if there had never been any prophecy, or if it were a comparatively modern thing—then might the way have been hard indeed, and unbelief rested at least upon a basis of interrogation. "Oh that I knew where I might find Him" would be the unsatisfied cry of the exiled child of an unknown father, and there could be but the "ineradicable hope" to lure men on to an ever-evading destiny. But there can be no banishing of the supernatural from the natural, no separation of man from God, no questioning of origin or end when we consider the "goodly fellowship of the prophets." And herein lies the power of our present work. It is no new thing which we inaugurate here to-day, my brethren, when we send a fresh company out to prophesy. Our action is not a mere part of modern religious economy any more than these, our brothers, are merely a modern body of witnesses to give testimony concerning a modern faith. Away down through the ages has come this clear line of men, and in their joined hands a connection is evidenced, a connection between heaven and earth, between God and His children. What an inspiring truth! We are no apologists here for a new system or a new religion. We have our credentials in ranks unbroken through all the world's history. We are prophets, and our ancestry is exact and reliable, as old as the world itself.

More forcible still does this truth become when we read again the words of Zacharias: "As *He spake* by the mouth of His holy prophets." God has established this human agency as a means through which He speaks to His people. The voice of the prophet is the voice of God. It matters little that God through the centuries has used varied methods of inspiration. Whether, as in the early days, He spoke face to face and then bade the prophet go and declare the message, or whether, as in



these later days, the man with humbled heart kneels in his study and listens for the word the Lord would have him speak; the unbroken testimony is that the man is not a preacher of his own ideas nor a minister serving after his own fashion. God speaks by his mouth. The truth he declares is God's truth. Hence the tremendous power of the prophets in all ages with the people. The hungry souls of men have cried "what hath the Lord spoken," and the truly inspired preacher has answered, with a full confidence in his message: "thus saith the Lord." There is something overwhelming in this great truth when once we freely grasp it. No matter for the false prophets just now, nor for the periods when they seemed to be few who carried the testimony of the Lord. No matter for the barren ages when the general communication between God and man seemed to have been cut off and men wandered after their own fashion in the blind satisfaction of their own will. There was no break in the prophetic office, though these sad periods demand a search for the message and the messenger. So we can disregard in our view these seemingly silent times, while we seize the superb fact that God has *never* left Himself without witness since the world began. Nor need we just now stop to consider the confusion of voices when here and there men's minds were perplexed and their faith weakened by a babel of sounds through which only a few could detect the "still small voice" quietly speaking its eternal message of love and warning and interest. The point I would have you recognize is that this great current of divine guidance and instruction has always gone on and is still going on. As one who knows music can trace the theme in some wonderful symphony even when it seems swallowed up in the excess of rioting notes or when it seems to be slipping away in some thin and hesitating chords of modulation, so the believer can hear this one tone of prophecy sounding through all the years, an unceasing testimony that God is not far away and that His truth endureth from generation to generation. Oh, the blessed inspiration of it all! Well did Browning make old Abt Vogler sing in superb faith:



“Therefore to whom turn I but to Thee, the ineffable Name?  
Builder and maker, Thou, of houses not made with hands.  
What, have fear of change from Thee Who art ever the same?  
Doubt that Thy power can fill the heart that Thy power expands?  
There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before;  
The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound;  
What was good shall *be* good, with, for evil, so much good more;  
On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven a perfect round.

All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist;  
Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power  
Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist  
When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.  
The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,  
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,  
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard;  
Enough that He heard it once; we shall hear it by and by.

And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence  
For the fulness of the days? Have we withered or agonized?  
Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might issue thence?  
Why rushed the discords in, but that harmony should be prized?  
Sorrow is hard to bear, and doubt is slow to clear;  
Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of the weal and woe:  
But God has a few of us whom He whispers in the ear;  
The rest may reason and welcome: 'tis we musicians know!”

Yes, 'tis we prophets who *know*! Our message is spoken by the same God Who through all time has revealed Himself to men. Enfired by Him Who spake as never man spake, with a message made more full and complete by the Christ of Calvary, the unbroken line moves on to bring back earth to its God, to bring back God to His earth, to lead men to redemption and peace, to speak the divine will that it may be done on earth as in Heaven.

I have taken the title “prophet” in its broadest sense. It covers alike preacher and comforter, the declarer of truth and the giver of gifts left for the church's consolation. Let us think now of some of the marked characteristics of this prophetic office and of the schools of the prophets. We will not go into any exact or historical criticism of the prophets of the Bible times and their teaching. Those who have not done so



may well turn to that great book of Dr. Samuel Lee on the *Nature, Progress and End of Prophecy*, one of those old books which have a perennial freshness and which in these days of somewhat erratic statement and thought, serve as good anchors. Simply and briefly we will indicate some of the great marks alike of the men and the means by which the men were fitted, in the hope that our hearts may be newly inspired and our zeal rekindled by the fire from Heaven which has never gone out on earth since first the divine hand touched it into glow.

### I. Joy.

Nothing is more fascinating than a study of the lives and methods and emotions of the earliest prophets. Miriam the prophetess went before the triumphal company of the redeemed Israelites with music and dance, and echoed the prophetic hymn of Moses. Samuel gathered the young prophets in his school at Ramah, and with psaltery, harp, tabret, pipe and cymbals they gave utterance to their revelations. No wonder that when the youthful and, as yet, genuine Saul met the line of them descending from the leafy huts where they abode in Naioth, he was seized by the contagion of their happy inspiration, and danced and sang with them! Indeed we find in all the prophets of Israel that poetic spirit which led them to speak their messages in rhythm, and what is poetry but an expression of the heart's deepest emotions? So did the early disciples begin their journey from the Mount of the Ascension to Jerusalem—that first journey of their newly-found prophetic authority—with joy. And with however much of sadness or even sternness the preacher at times has felt bound to declare his message, it has ever been the rejection of his message rather than any over-exalting of his office that hid the joy. And why should there not have been happiness on the part of these men alike of the Old and New Testament? Had not God spoken to them? Were they not the men into whose ears God had “whispered” (for such is the force of the Hebrew in at least one place in the history of Samuel where “the Lord uncovered his ear,” *i. e.*, as



it were moved back the long hair and spoke in secret His word)? Had they not a close intimacy with Jehovah, even as the Apostles had a close intimacy with the Master, and later had breathed *into* them as well as upon them the power of the Holy Ghost? No uncertainty as to the genuineness of their truth or fear as to its power molested them. No self-consciousness or studied stiffness held them in thrall. Theirs was the delight of listening while the Lord spake and then of delivering the truth with all unction and enthusiasm. Theirs was the high glory of declaring a mediatorship between God and men, and no shadow of doubt concerning God or His final purpose and victory rested upon them.

May it not be that in our modern prophetic schools there is lacking something of this joy which now, as long ago, may well be born out of the consciousness of a high purpose and a strong inspiration? If theology is but one—albeit the highest—of the sciences; if it is to be studied regardless of a divine in-breathing of grace; if the intellectual and consequently human element is to have the place of honor and of authority, then indeed must the old prophetic habit of infatuation with the office and its work disappear. You cannot draw joy from books any more than you can draw tears from stones, unless the heart in those books and the heart that reads has heard and is ever hearing a divine voice of truth. But if—and is it a large “if”?—the Seminary of the twentieth century A. D. is like the prophetic school of the twelfth century B. C., at least in this, that men come together to rejoice in their common calling, to clear the ear for the hearing of God’s truth, and to fit the heart for an ever-increasing love and loyalty to Him Who waits to speak, as well as loyalty to the needs of those who outside the sacred precincts are waiting to hear the word spoken;—if the chief idea is the consecration of life and person so that the pure heart shall see God and the character bear witness—then why might not the metaphor of the old instruments with their joy and the old dancing and the old rhythmic singing yet stand? There is nothing herein to militate against the highest



and the deepest learning; God's need for minds to-day is as great as His need for hearts. But there is *much* which militates against a hard and soulless dogmatism and a heartless and needless vivisection of things made holy by Him Who gave them and by the lives they have sanctified; there is much which contends against a cold isolation from ecstatic devotion and human need.

Much more must this joy be the part of the modern prophet, whether he gather it from his school or not. If the heart of any man can be glad, surely the minister's heart may exceed in gladness. Think of his privilege—he is God's messenger! Think of his exaltation—the Almighty speaks to him! Think of his company—he is one of the goodly fellowship of the prophets! Think of his service—to tell men in their need that which God has told him! Weary? Shame on the heart or head which tires of the King's truth! Worn? Alas for the body which is not transfigured by the prophetic livery of the Eternal! Perplexed as to what he shall preach? Can he forget so soon the message of the Master?—And yet, there is not the joy in work to-day amongst the prophets for which we might look. Witness the reaction of Monday! Witness the complaining and the human jealousy. Witness the heavy step and the yet heavier heart. God forbid that I should make His ministry a thing of light and surface frivolity! There are tears for us to-day as for the great Jeremiah. Emotions are not all of one sort, and “the eyes that cannot weep are the saddest eyes of all”! But these sorrows are to be felt for the world's rejection of God, not for our own rejection by men. True agony indeed must the prophet have, but it is the agony of a desire which even consumes him. And back of all, beneath all, rests ever the promise as old as the office he holds—“Lo, I am with you.” I wonder that no man has written of the joy of the ministry. Those of us who knew him can easily imagine how Phillips Brooks could have made such a book leap from the very consecration of his nature. All his sermons are full of it. To read God's Word, to pray in the sanctuary,



to preach God's truth in all its infinite phases and phrases, to baptize into the Kingdom, to break the Bread of Life, to visit the sick, to comfort the bereaved and point them to the skies, to guide children, to serve the weak, to rebuke the erring, to stand up as a hero for righteousness, to urge reform in manners and morals, to inspire leadership,—and then to come to the quiet hour and in silence to kneel before the Throne of Him Who gave the commands we have tried to execute, full of a peaceful confidence, not in work well done, but in the mercy and love which can use frail man as an agency for salvation! Surely the Christ said not in vain: "Your joy no man taketh from you." Oh, may He make us true to this old lasting mark of His age-long prophets!

## II. TRUST.

No pessimist can be a prophet. The converse also is exact if we add an adjective: no *true* prophet can be a pessimist. The tremendous faith of the Bible prophets is incomprehensible to one who knows not what the prophetic office means. Never did they seem to question God. "Thus saith the Lord" was to them an end of all questioning. How grandly Isaiah cried: "He wakeneth mine ear to hear as the learned"; and again: "The Lord God hath opened mine ear and I was not rebellious." Elijah never doubted God; his fear was for the people who would not hear. And if at times there was questioning it was rather as to what God willed than as to what He planned. There must have been somewhat of this confidence taught in their schools. Certainly the Master was constantly teaching it to His disciples. "Trust, fear not, believe, have faith"—these were His words repeated unceasingly in His blessed peripatetic school of divinity. Ought not our modern schools to have somewhat of the same character? Should there not be in them not merely an element of trust but a *current*, an *atmosphere*, of faith which should permeate and magnetize? Are our prophetic institutions what they ought to be if they lead to doubt and questioning and uncertainty rather than to



a mighty buttressing of faith? Of course, deeper study may often, by overturning early ignorance, cause a temporary floundering. Of this we need only say that when the heart is true and the consecration honest no harm can ever result. But I ask in all frankness whether there is not danger to-day, as, perhaps, in all our institutions of learning, so especially in our seminaries, of making the laboratory more important than the text-book, of establishing research work rather than imparting fixed and revealed truth, of trying to make theologians rather than ministers and preachers? There is a place for research work; there is a place for scholars and theologians; but it is the place of specializing; it is the place of discovery; it is the place of inquiry; and it is a place which has no limit simply because truth is infinite and in many of its phases we can only experiment. But what the prophets, as prophets, need is fact, the old fixed truth of the ages. What the world wants the prophet to do is to come with a clear knowledge and a definite message. She is willing enough that research and experiment should go on; she is ready to accept anything which research and experiment have surely established as fact; but she wants the simple, plain truth of God spoken by her preachers with no uncertain accent for her regular needs and her common life. And if the prophetic schools do not send her such—if the preachers do not come out of the seminary hot with the glorious message of God's love which is as real to them and as sure as the heart that beats within them, then something is at fault. With somewhat of diffidence in this presence, and yet with boldness, I express the fear that we are carrying on research work to excess in theology, both Biblical and dogmatic, and forcing it too much upon our students when not one in a hundred has any fitness or desire for it or any intention of continuing it, to the detriment of the great fundamentals of the prophetic office which it is preëminently the first duty of the prophet to proclaim. Brethren, religion must be adapted to the age, and it must be accurate in statement according to the best light attainable. But the preaching of the Gospel which



is to save men, the telling of the message which God gives, is the most important thing. Alas for us, if we dally so long in the fascinating fumes of the laboratory that we forget the hungry souls for whom God has a clear, strong word which He bids us speak!

Especially must the prophet himself have this supreme trust. He must speak the things he knows. He must be no doubter nor speak in any terms of interrogation. The old "categorical imperative" must lead him, that, like his Master, he may speak with authority. And his faith must be in the power of Him Whose message he brings. If he doubts the world's ultimate salvation, if he questions whether the world is growing better, if he thinks that perhaps the power has gone from the old gospel of salvation—then the hungry world will turn from him as from one who has no faith in the very faith he preaches. Back of all the many trials and faults of today in the Church of God, back of all the many explanations for this or that failure, lies, I believe, this lack of essential force, due to a lack of essential confidence in God and His truth. Oh, may the Christ of grace restore to us the trust of the mighty prophets of all the ages, that we may find *conviction* the power of our speech and *assurance* the impulse of our message! For the Spirit can give more power only to the man who believes in the power already given.

### III. CLEARNESS OF VIEW.

No student of the prophets of the past can fail to see how their success was proportioned to their clearness of vision. Isaiah's vision of the Throne (Isa. VI; 1-8) was but an example of the positiveness of his sight and knowledge always. He knew the end from the beginning, not in detail but in fact. From God, for God, to God—that was the burden of his preaching. I believe the gift of foretelling the future, all through the Bible, is made vastly subordinate to the expression of clear views of love and service and duty in this present that good may come in the future. You remember how Tennyson sings of the poet:



“The poet in a golden clime was born,  
 With golden stars above;  
 Dower'd with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,  
 The love of love.

He saw through life and death, through good and ill,  
 He saw through his own soul,  
 The marvel of the everlasting will,  
 An open scroll,

Before him lay; with echoing feet he threaded  
 The secretest walks of fame:  
 The viewless arrows of his thoughts were headed  
 And winged with flame.”

Substitute “prophet” for “poet” and you have the truth of the clearness of vision of the preachers of old who moved and saved men because they themselves knew what life meant; while John Stuart Mill’s cry: “What am I? Whence came I? Whither am I going?” becomes the creed of the blind unbeliever. And there must have been something in the prophetic schools of old which gave this distinctness of vision. What it was we can but dimly conjecture, but that it was there who can doubt, when he considers the Bible story and the men who came from the schools ready to prophesy?

In our day there is much of vagueness concerning even the origin and purpose of religion as well as its methods. “From God to man,” some cry; “from man to God” cry others. Even the incarnation in its blessedness is twisted until it seems to mean “man was made God” rather than “God was made man.” Hence the blundering and the consequent haziness of much modern prophecy. Dr. Patton never spoke more truly than when he said: “There are but two positions. We are at the point where the roads fork. It is not a question of more creed or less creed; it is not a question of revising this or revising that. Let us not be deceived by raising a false issue. The sharp antithesis is before us. Christianity is either a piece of information supernaturally given with respect to a way of salvation, or else it is simply a phase of a great cosmic



process, explicable in terms of a mere naturalistic evolution. That is your issue. If you take the latter view, then there is nothing supernatural—no virgin birth, no resurrection, no atonement, no sin, no hope for the future—nothing distinctly in your Christianity worth keeping. If you take the former view, then the evangelical Christianity of Jesus Christ and Him crucified stands in all its power, and we may say today with as much assurance as the Apostle said it: “I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation.”

No uncertain plan, no uncertain way, no uncertain history can there be for him who to-day would be a true prophet through whose mouth God shall speak. There is no part of all our Seminary training more important than history, not of the church only but of the world, studied in the light of the guidance and revelation of God. Not so much what men have done or taught or believed or practiced as what God has done and taught and revealed through men and through human events and actions—that is history indeed. God is in the world through nature—yes; but God was once in the world *in person*, all time before His coming pointing with golden arrow-head forward and all time since pointing backward to Him.

Oh, the blessedness of such a clearness of vision as that! The prophet stands up with his message and the whole world, even as his own heart, lies open before him, and he tells the story that others may see the vision too! No limits in space or time; no limits in power or influence! The Alpha and Omega! “Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and today and forever”; “Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world”—on these he bases his message and preaches until men are caught up into the very life of God!

#### IV. PERSONAL CONSECRATION.

I must keep you a moment longer that I may just mention another characteristic of the prophets—namely, their personal consecration. Brethren, they were not their own, and they



knew it. Sometimes the knowledge led, as it leads still, to the giving up of all earthly possessions; it is a healthy figure. Sometimes it led to a loneliness, almost a grotesqueness of life and dress. But back of all was the fact: God had called them and given them a message, and cried, "go tell it to My people"—and after that nothing much mattered as regarded themselves in the possessions or glory of life. Christ was all to the Apostles; His glory was theirs. I believe the early prophetic schools of the Bible taught this consecration and made the prophets feel it almost as a test of their fitness. Therein, I believe, lies the chief work of our modern schools. To teach the exact rendering of the message, to guide in the manner of its deliverance, to make the message clear and strong in the minds and hearts of the messengers—all that is good and necessary; but to teach absolute and complete consecration that the ear may hear the whisper of the Infinite—that, *that* is the work which shall fit the prophets for their task! Hardness?—yes, and we want a bit of heroism. Denial?—it is the very essence of humility that the man preach not himself but God's message. A burial of personal qualities? Nay, but a consecration of them so that God can use them for His cause. And the man who really loves God and glories in the honor of delivering His message finds no weariness or over-severity in the calling. Into the task he casts all his powers; to it he gives all his time; it makes him like his crucified Master: with head near Heaven that he may hear the word spoken; with feet fixed on the solid faith which has stood as a rock of divine planting; and with his hands outstretched in pleading, in exhortation, in rebuke, in mercy, to a world longing for life yet ignorant how to live.

What a glorious work for man! What a holy line, this of the prophets through whose mouths God has ever spoken and is speaking still! What a precious task, this of the prophetic school, to prepare the youthful sons of the prophets for the fine fulfilment of their calling! God, oh our God, give us grace that in these latter days the line waver not nor weaken! Give us the spirit of the prophets of old to whom we lift our



eyes and know that they, ministering spirits, even now are ready to help us! As Matthew Arnold sang of his great human father and his co-workers, as he meditated in Rugby Chapel, so may we sing as we remember this goodly fellowship of the prophets and are sadly conscious of our own weakness:

“Then in such hour of need  
Of your fainting, dispirited race,  
Ye, like angels, appear,  
Radiant with ardor divine,  
Beacons of hope, ye appear!  
Languor is not in your heart,  
Weakness is not in your word,  
Weariness not on your brow.  
Ye alight in our van! at your voice,  
Panic, despair flee away.  
Ye move through the ranks, recall  
The stragglers, refresh the outworn,  
Praise, re-inspire the brave.  
Order, courage, return;  
Eyes rekindling and prayers,  
Follow your steps as ye go.  
Ye fill up gaps in our files,  
Strengthen the wavering line,  
Stablish, continue our march,  
On to the bound of the waste,  
On to the City of God.”

My brothers, you who are about to graduate, I congratulate you. I almost envy you the fresh joy of the service upon which you are about to enter. You are to join this long line of the prophets. You are to carry on the message which has been sounding all through the centuries. I bid you welcome to the ranks of the never-failing prophets. Rejoice in your high honor. Tell the story as men who know its meaning and its power and its glory. Hold fast to the old faith, for men are hungry for it, and it alone can help them to live and prepare them for heaven. Live near to Christ that from the closeness of your worship you may bring light to a dark world. Above all else, be true to your King in your own personal loyalty, and then your work will be well done and His blessing at last will be yours.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.



### III.

## THE PLACE OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTER IN ORGANIZED SOCIETY.

A. O. REITER.

A Robinson Crusoe, living alone on his wave-washed island, is his own prophet, priest, and king; even as he is his own doctor, tailor, shoemaker, housebuilder and cook. But the moment the man Friday appears there is a division of labor and of responsibility. Each renders some service to the other, and in return each receives some benefit from the labors of the other. Society begins to be organized, and labors to be divided wherever two or three live together. In the savage tribe, from the chief to the veriest drudge, each has duties, the performance of which entitles him to protection, a share in the tribal possessions, and the loyalty of all other members of the tribe. As civilization advances the organization of society becomes more complex; the arts, sciences, trades, and professions multiply in number, while the specific duties devolving upon any one individual decrease in inverse ratio. The division of labor leads to its subdivision, and in turn to specialization. Ours is an age of specialization—not an unmixed blessing by any means. But whether we wish it so or not, the man who would take and keep a place in organized society, must learn to do some one thing well, then do that one thing. The tremendous change that is taking place in the organization of the industrial world must be apparent to all. Within the memory of men now living, the shoemaker made shoes and sold them. To-day half a hundred pairs of hands contribute their several distinct activities to the making of a single shoe, before it reaches the salesman. The butcher once bought his own cattle, hogs and sheep, slaughtered them, cut the meat and sold it,



to-day there are men working in our great packing houses who from year's end to year's end do nothing but ply a small bell-shaped instrument for removing the few hairs left by the scraping machine from behind the dead hog's ears. This specialization in labor has resulted in great gain for the economic management of large industries, but it is to be feared with a corresponding decrease in the general efficiency of laborers. The savage indian who roamed our hills, armed with his bow and arrow, and dependent on his wits and skill to secure his daily food, had far more to challenge his mental activities and develop all his powers of manhood, than have many of these so-called skilled workmen in the huge mechanisms of modern industry. Using one set of muscles, doing the same thing over and over again ten thousand times in a day and every working day in the year, until the workman no longer needs to use his mind but can direct every motion by the reflexes that originate in the spinal cord is deadening to intelligence, to character and to personality alike. On the other hand this same division of labor has given to other men tremendously increased responsibility for the exercise of thinking power along certain specific lines. The training of the professional man, instead of the year or two spent in some doctor's or lawyer's office, or some pastor's study has become a long and intricate process. The world expects more, and has a right to expect more of the man trained for one specific duty, than it had a right to expect of the all around man of generations past.

Into this organism of human society the minister of the gospel must fit somewhere, unless he is to cease to be, and "the foolishness of preaching" is to be classed among the lost arts of the world. He must find his place. He must find the one thing needful in modern society that he is prepared and equipped to supply. He must render that one essential service, and leave to the rest of society all other duties. Then, and then only, has he a right to expect recognition, and the protection of social institutions.



But what is that one essential service? What are the minister's specific duties to society? What has society a right to ask of him? And what should be his own ideal of his own function and office? These are old questions. Some think they were answered, once for all, ages ago. But the fact that the mere asking of them in this twentieth century starts controversies everywhere, shows that the world yet awaits their true answer. They are questions vital to the church of to-day, for upon the correct or incorrect answer to them depends in large measure the whole future of Christianity.

If you should walk down street in any American city and ask every one of the first one hundred men you meet, Have you ever in your life received any valuable service from a Christian minister, service that only a minister of the gospel could render acceptably, and what was that service? Probably one or two would answer, "I have never received any such service and never expect to do so." For the purpose of this discussion that small minority may be neglected. Not to use a shorter and uglier word, they are mistaken. But if the remainder answer truly, a considerable number will say: "Yes, a minister of the gospel has held a funeral service at the grave of one or more of my loved ones, and I hope some minister will say a good word for me when the same necessity arises." Whether flattering to the minister or not, it is a fact that a large part of those who go to make up organized society to-day have no use for him and no desire for any service at his hands, except when there is a death in the family. The minister and the undertaker are put into the same class as necessary evils, except for this one important distinction—the undertaker must be paid.

Another relatively large contingent of our supposed one hundred would answer: "Yes, I belong to the church, I was baptized by a minister, confirmed by a minister, or as the case may be, converted under the preaching of a minister, I have received communion from a minister and when I was sick the minister visited me and prayed for me, I hope to die in the



church and receive Christian burial." But if the questions are pressed farther, you will find that many have fallen away from their first love, and only a comparatively few are regular attendants at the services of the church, and fewer still are taking any active part in the aggressive work of the Kingdom of God. Why? "Aye there's the rub." It is not only the hanger-on, whose tale of woe is legion, and whose conception of the church is simply that of a fire escape, who is dissatisfied with the existing order. It is not simply the man who looks upon the minister as a parasite on the body politic, that reminds us that the minister has not found his place in organized society. The earnest faithful Christian too is often loud in his complaint, that an effective service is not being rendered by the minister of to-day. Suppose we take the next thousand men we meet and ask them to tell us in what way the minister can so amend his ways, direct his activities, and utilize his time as to render to society his own peculiar and necessary service. It is right here that Bedlam breaks loose. Listen.

An exceedingly complex and intricate organism creates many different types of people with widely varying tastes and interests. The ministers of our churches are failing to reach and serve and help many people because they do not adapt their work to the needs of the people. On every hand there are distracting amusements more or less sinful. The minister should devise counter attractions in the church. He should provide picture shows, and a bowling alley. He should organize a base ball team, a cooking school, and a literary society. The great battle for a juster division of the world's wealth is on, and the minister has lost his opportunity to reach and hold the working man by failing to ally himself with the labor union, or give his unqualified approval to this or that scheme for political or economic revolution. The saloon is ruining us politically and individually, and many ministers are too cowardly to come out into the open to fight the saloon either in the courts or at the polls. The red light hells yawn for our boys and girls, and the minister



refuses to join in a crusade to abolish them. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavor Society, the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the Men and Religion Forward Movement, the Boy Scout Movement, the King's Daughters, the Anti-Saloon League, the Front Line Movement in the Sunday School, the Organized Bible Class, and all the rest of that legion of societies, guilds, movements, and organizations that earnest Christian workers have invented to help the minister in his work do not receive the share of the minister's time and attention he ought to give them if he is to receive the best results from them. The best brains of the world are busy wrestling with the problems of science for human betterment and the relief of human suffering, but the minister, deaf to the call of the living world, continues to take texts from a discredited bible and to preach worn-out and unscientific dogmas. And, per contra, the good old gospel has been destroyed by higher criticism and the so-called scientific method. The minister of to-day fails to find and fill his place in organized society because he has departed from the doctrines and ideals of the past. The minister spends far too much time and effort in intellectual work, preparing literary essays for his pulpit, and far too little in the good old art and practice of pastoral visiting, is the complaint of one and the next man is equally sure that the same minister, spends far too much time gadding about among the people and too little on the preparation of his sermons.

In short the vast majority who either through indifference or zeal are willing to give to the Christian minister a place in society, are entirely willing that the minister should serve them, provided that service take not the form his own conscience dictates, but the form that to them seems most desirable and profitable. The physician is never in doubt as to his place and function in organized society. He has certain specific work to do, and if he prefers to specialize on some particular



part of that work, society has no criticisms to offer. The lawyer has his place and work. The engineer has clearly defined duties. The minister alone among professional men finds himself pulled hither and thither by a multitude of conflicting duties imposed upon him by a society that has no clear conception of either the place or the function of the minister in society.

For this distraction, society as a whole is not primarily nor chiefly to blame. The ministers themselves have created it, and are perpetuating it. The young man leaving the theological seminary to take up the work in his first charge knows that he cannot possibly do everything that every other minister is doing. With honest and open mind he goes to his ministerial brethren for advice. One assures him that his first duty is that of a prophet declaring with a "thus saith the Lord" the whole counsel of God. The next points out the course of an engineer constructing ecclesiastical machinery, the running of which will keep every member of the church busy and, consequently, out of mischief. A third advises the Sunday School and the Young People's Society as the most important sphere of work. While the fourth is sure that "the great mission of the church is missions." Another is convinced that the institutional church and the social settlement is the form the Kingdom of God must take in the immediate future, while still another believes that the one great work of the preacher of to-day is the intellectual work of harmonizing religious and secular knowledge. But there are not lacking ministers now in the field who are by no means certain in their own minds as to the essential duty of a minister's life and work. These grasp each new fad, and furnish the eager following for the ecclesiastical promoter of new wonders, new societies, new organizations, new movements which meteor-like flash across the ecclesiastical sky, to dazzle for a while by their brilliance and leave stygian darkness of the spirit in their wake. Society is by no means agreed as to what it has a right to expect of the minister, and the ministry of to-day is by no means agreed as to the essential



service to be offered to society. Is it any wonder that the young minister is puzzled to find his place and function in organized society?

In the redivision of labors in the social organism within the past half century the demands upon the minister's time, interest and support have increased in geometrical ratio, until the minister of to-day finds it absolutely impossible even to undertake all that society, his fellow workers and his own ideal would thrust upon him. If the minister of the gospel by virtue of his ordination were equipped with two or three brains instead of one with which to grapple with the innumerable intellectual problems that try the faith of men; two or three hearts with which to sympathize with all the woes, real and imaginary, which vex the souls of men, women and children; two or three pairs of legs—for he cannot afford other conveyance—with which to carry his hearts and brains to all the points of contact with human life; two or three tongues with which to speak to all classes and conditions of men, on every conceivable subject;—if the minister had all these, and with them all, the physical strength of a Sandow, the calm patience of a Lincoln, the manysidedness of a Roosevelt and the executive ability of a Bismarck, he might, in some sort of fashion, meet all the demands made upon the minister of to-day. Failing in this endowment, to attempt them all must inevitably lead to failure in all, and to physical, mental, moral and spiritual bankruptcy.

In every other calling and profession, the development of a complex social organism has led to a division of labor, and a narrowing of the sphere of activity. But the ministry has persistently held to every function ever performed by those holding the ministerial office, and added from generation to generation duty after duty until to-day the minister has no clearly defined place in society. The light-minded may rejoice in "the limitless horizon of the ministerial office." But the serious man knows that the dissipation of energy is sinful waste. If the personality of a man is to count for anything in



this world, it must come into vital contact with life at some one place. The countless activities that any other man might perform equally well give the minister no claim to a place in organized society. If he is to have and keep a place he must find the one thing that no one but a minister of Jesus Christ can do. And when he has found it, he must abide in it. What is that one thing which no one but a minister can do, and which if well done will put the minister at least on a par with the surgeon and the corporation lawyer as an indispensable member of human society?

It is in vain that we search the history of the priesthood or prophetism of Israel to find an answer to this question, if we look only at the external side of their activities. The government in Israel was a theocracy. The church and state were one. The priest was both religious leader and sanitation officer. The prophet was preacher and statesman in one. Neither the Apostolic church nor the Reformation of the sixteenth century can furnish the norm for present day activities. Neither Aaron nor Isaiah, neither Paul nor Augustine, neither Luther nor Calvin can be taken as the perfect type for the minister of today. The social organization has undergone an almost complete transformation since any of them lived. Church and state have been separated. Religion and medicine have been divorced. Division and subdivision of labor and responsibilities has accompanied the evolution of society. The minister of the gospel is no longer the only servant of the Christ who labors for the coming of His Kingdom. The minister of healing lives and works and sacrifices in the person of the Christian doctor. The minister of justice lives in the Christian lawyer, the Christian judge and the Christian policeman. The Christian poor director in the Christian state in large measure takes the place of the deacon in the Apostolic church. The free public school, planned by Christian statesmen, and taught by Christian teachers relieves the minister of much of his former responsibility for the education of the young. The lodge and the life insurance company, both products of



Christian society, are doing a beneficent work, which the Apostolic church tried to do and failed, because in the very nature of the case the church could not black-ball the unworthy or exclude the unfit. The workshops and manual training schools offer wide scope for the development of industrial efficiency. The avenues for play and recreation are already far too many rather than too few for the good of the people. Into none of these spheres of activity is there any imperative call for the Christian minister to enter. The organization of society has placed responsibility for these things into other hands. When the minister leaves his own sphere to enter these, he not only neglects his own more important work, he also convicts himself of overweening presumption.

But if we look more closely at the work of Jewish or Roman priest, prophet or protestant preacher, we find one central motive, one primary and essential activity in all their work. They lived and worked that they might bring God and man together into personal relation and fellowship. Jesus Christ came into the world that men "might have life and have it more abundantly." "And this is eternal life, to know Thee the living and true God, and Jesus the Christ whom Thou hast sent." To save men from sin and fit them for eternal life, by winning men through that one exhibition of divine love in Christ was, and is the one eternal purpose of God. To establish a Kingdom of God on earth, in which God's will should be done on earth as in heaven, not a kingdom of this world, not a kingdom of earthly powers and forces, nor even of external form like that of political states to be observed of men, but a kingdom of the spirit in the hearts of men was the end for which Jesus lived, worked and died. The unfinished work of Jesus is left for the Christian minister of today. As in the apostolic church, as in the sixteenth century, so today the one all important work of the Christian minister is to bring man into intelligent, loving, vital, personal relation with God in Christ and keep him there. No other work in all the world is so fundamental or important as this. No other duty can claim



precedence over it. Organized society at the present day needs no other service as it needs this.

The one true sphere of the Christian minister is the church. And to the people committed to his care by the church, whether few or many, the minister must be first of all a man of God, an expert who knows the truth of God and can impart it. And that he may impart this truth, he must know the fundamental mood, the science and philosophy of the age in which he lives. In an age of clashing interests such as ours, he must be able to strike the full, clear note of assurance and make men hear the voice of God above the din and discord. He must be able to construct for himself and others a theodicy that will quicken and deepen in all hearts the assurance of the being, the perfection, and government of God, and the immortality of the soul. It is his to lead in the path of righteousness and to teach others to follow in that way. A personal friend of the Christ, it is his privilege to introduce others into that prized fellowship with Him. Because he knows and loves God as his Father, he loves all men as brethren. In this is, and forever must be, the mainspring of the Christian's loyalty to the church and his activity in the cause of missions. Above all else the minister of our generation needs to be a man of faith, able to catch, and to help others to catch, above the noise and clamor and confusion and fire and smoke of the world's maddening activities, above the crashing and the grinding of the wheels, and the wheels within wheels of modern invention, above and overruling the brutal passions and mistaken zeal of men, a vision of God in His heaven, giving assurance that all's well with His world. In a world that worships the grandeur of wealth and the power of mighty organizations, he must learn, and teach others to learn, that it is "not by might and not by power but by my spirit saith the Lord"; that the God who is not in the lightning, the tempest and the earthquake yet lives and speaks in a still small voice to the hearts of humble, trustful men. In short, the one great work a fair division has put upon the Christian minister in



modern organized society is the one all-important duty of quickening and keeping alive in the hearts of men, women and children, the consciousness of the abiding presence of a living, loving, personal God.

Though church and state are separated and the statesman's duty of the prophet is no longer his, it is yet his privilege to inspire statesmen with a love of divine justice and order. Though the minister has given up the healing function of the apostles he may yet inspire the Christian doctor in the name and spirit of the Christ to perform miracles of healing. Though the public school relieves him of what was once a part of his labors, it is still his duty to teach the teacher to see in each out-cast child, one of the little ones for whom Christ died. God has a message of truth and the inspiration of His love and sympathy for every honest worker in the world, and it is the minister's duty to interpret that message and impart that inspiration. Though the church is or ought to be the all-embracing sphere of the minister's activity, yet through the church, and in the foolishness of preaching, he ought to touch and influence all spheres of human life, bring aid and encouragement to every worthy cause, comfort and cheer to every sinning, suffering son of man.

Called to this high place in human society, fitted for such exalted service to men, the minister has far too often, Martha-like, busied himself with many cares, forgetting the one thing needful. And it is exactly that better part, the part that Mary chose, the part of intimate spiritual fellowship with the Christ, that a distressed church in a distressed world needs in this twentieth century. We need to stop our scheming and our machinery building to sit and listen until we learn to love the accents of the Master's voice, until piety and reverence are born anew in our hearts, until we learn again that art of worship which brings us into vital touch with the living and life-giving God. We need to read again the gospel stories of our Lord, and while we need not pattern after all the things he did in a society ~~Fidely~~ different from our own, we may catch the



spirit of that glorious ministry of his and make it the spirit of our own. We may, when tempted to adopt socialism or some other panacea for the ills of the economic world, as a substitute for the gospel, read again how He replied to one who came asking his interference in temporal affairs: "Who made me a divider over you?" And when power seems the one thing needful in a world of sin, we may remember that in an equally sinful world he used force but once, and that was to drive from the temple dedicated to the worship of God, those who tried to commercialize their religion. We need to read anew how he dealt with publicans and sinners that we may learn that the minister's true appeal is to the conscience, not to the legislature. We need to study anew that wonderful record of his temptation in the wilderness that when we are tempted to secure the attention and support of the crowd by ministering to the bodies of men, by furnishing a show to attract men or by using the military methods of a Cæsar or the corporation methods of "big business," we may remember that to do the will of God is more important than to succeed.

True the Christian lives in a sinful world, and as long as it is a sinful world he must work and fight to make it better. Religion is no religion if it does not issue in moral endeavor. The Christian legislator, judge, policeman, doctor, lawyer, school teacher, merchant, hotel-keeper, farmer, mechanic or laborer; the Christian worker in the Law and Order Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty, the Grand Army of the Republic or the Boy Scouts, all have their specific duties in the performance of which they continue to "work out their own salvation with fear and trembling with God working in them to will and to do of His good pleasure." But if the doctor, for example, in addition to a little doctoring attempts to dabble in the work of all the others, he will inevitably make a failure of his life. It is the doctor's duty working with God to keep the bodies of other men fit for the strenuous duties of their several labors; and it is the far more important duty of the minister working with God, to keep the souls of men fit



for the far more strenuous moral work of the world. Granted, that the world needs reformation in politics, in economics, in social life, in industry, in amusements, and in charities, what can be gained if the minister neglects his more important work for these? What shall it profit society, if it gain the highest civilization, the most perfect economic adjustment, the acme of judicial administration, the pinnacle of culture and refinement, and lose its life in God?

True it may at times be necessary that a minister lay aside his duties for others. In the great crises of life, crises that call the lawyer from his brief, the doctor from his sick folk, the banker from his money and the farmer from his plow, it may be necessary for the minister to sell his cloak and buy a sword. A minister is a man, generally a husband and a father, always a citizen of the community, the state and the nation. He has lower duties as well as higher. But his place in organized society and his usefulness therein depends upon the higher, not the lower. Jesus recognized his lower duties and fulfilled them as a man. He also recognized the duty of the crisis and always met that duty. Notwithstanding the fact that he refused to turn the stones of the wilderness into bread, when the multitude was starving he fed them from the five barley loaves and the two small fishes. And the next day that same crowd forsook him, grumbling, because he did not continue to feed them. Notwithstanding that he refused to gratify the hunger for the spectacular by jumping from the pinnacle of the temple, he did make a show to draw all men to himself, when he hung on the cross of Calvary. Notwithstanding the fact that he refused to grasp the kingdoms of this world and the power and the glory of them, by imitating the methods of kings and using the machinery of organization then in vogue, he did send forth his disciples as "sheep in the midst of wolves" to gather men into the unseen kingdom where God rules in the hearts of men. And those same disciples, when the number of followers began to increase greatly, began that very division of labor that has continued with multiplied re-



division down to our own times. For they reckoned thus: "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God to serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word." If it was necessary in the comparatively primitive society of the first century, that certain men should give themselves wholly to prayer and the ministry of the word, without added duty, how much more important in the highly complex and specialized organization of present day society that there be men who will give themselves wholly to this one fundamental service? If it was not reason that the first ministers in the church of Jesus Christ should continue to distribute alms among the poor, how far from reason is it that a minister of today should have his time and strength taken by the innumerable tasks thrust upon him within and without the church of today? Other men, "full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," often a wisdom surpassing that of the minister, may well look after economic and social, humanitarian and ethical affairs. But if the world is to have men in the next generation, "full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom" to carry on the great work of the world and the church, the minister must stick to his work and give himself continually to the one duty of keeping alive the consciousness of a living God and man's kinship with Him.

Two things prevent the minister of today from taking his rightful place in society and performing his one all-important service to humanity. The first, which I have already discussed, is the insistent and almost irresistible demand that comes from society, that the minister shall do the thousand and one other, more or less important things, that custom, or the weakness of the ministry itself, have fastened on the profession. Of these the more important belong rightfully to the Christian laymen, the less important, yet more harassing and insistent, should be relegated to the scrap heap of obsolete practices.



The other obstacle to an effective and rational ministry, which I have already hinted at, is the tendency of the age to mechanical invention as it obtains in the social sphere. Ours is an age of organization, and the amalgamation of organizations. Each new idea born, each new method devised, calls for a new organization with a constitution, by laws, a program and a full complement of officers. And if the matter in the faintest degree concerns religion or morals, the minister is expected to furnish the power and the lubricant to run the new machine. If he refuses or remains neutral he is classed as a "back number," a "fossil," a "kicker" and a "knocker." And if, perchance, a good and useful organization exists, as the Sunday School, for example, it is forthwith made to be interdenominational, and international, linked up with the county, the state and the nation instead of the congregation, has thrust upon it so many standards of so-called efficiency, is furnished with so many tawdry helps, banners, devices and phony jewelry, that the primary purpose of leading the child to know the revelation of God in Christ, and to realize his own personal relation to his loving, heavenly Father is largely lost sight of. Ours is the age of big things, big visions, big schemes, big combinations, big movements—big talk. Long ago, the Greeks tell us, the giants piled Ossa on Pelion and leafy Olympus on both to scale the abode of the gods. And away back in the days of the childhood of the race, they who dwelt in the land of Shinar said one to another: "Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone and slime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." And yet once more in this twentieth century will the puny giants pile church on church, denomination on denomination, and again will they pile their half baked organizations and societies in heaps and bind them with the slime of sentiment as a substitute for the cement of faith, that they may take the kingdom of heaven by



force, and set times and seasons for Him who is eternal. Far wiser, far better acquainted with the way and will of God, far more worthy our emulation as a preacher, though the Jews rejected his counsel, was that Isaiah who declared, "Thus saith the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel: in returning and rest shall ye be saved, in quietness and confidence shall be your strength"; and again: "He that believeth shall not make haste."

It is this tendency, both in the church and outside of it, to emphasize schemes, plans and efforts, humanitarian or ethical, to the exclusion of the one thing truly needful, that makes it so difficult for the minister of today to find his rightful place, and render his important service in the organized society of today. The lure of the supposedly practical, and the idolatry of bigness have caused us to forget, that the true work of God is a work in the heart of man, that the agent is the Holy Spirit, and that God's minister is a man of Christ-like mold who gives his life that he may lead a few of God's children into the way of the more abundant life. To the many who reject his services he may continue to be a mere parasite on organized society, a man who renders no service worth having. Even in the twentieth century of the Christian era he may be forced to share the fate of a Roger Williams, a Savonarola, a Huss of Bohemia or a Jesus on his cross. But to the few who through him come to know God in Christ, a living, loving personal God, who saves from the guilt and power of sin,—learn to know what is the fellowship of the Spirit and are led by that Spirit into the service of humanity in the name of Christ; to these and others like them who have tasted the joy of divine life through the ministry of the gospel of Christ, the minister is the most important member in all organized society. The service he renders is the greatest of all services, and the place they gladly give him is the place next to that filled by the Son of God.



#### IV.

### IS WALT WHITMAN THE BEST REPRESENTATIVE OF AMERICA'S INDEPENDENT SPIRIT IN POETRY?

EDWARD S. BROMER.

It is evident from the statement of the subject that our emphasis must rest on the words "America's independent spirit in poetry." It is not, therefore, the question, Is Walt Whitman the best representative of the spirit of American poetry? Poetry always reflects the influence of nature, the mind of the past, and the quickening present consciousness of life in action. In this way it may well be claimed that the chief American poets, generally so-called, like Lowell, Whittier, Longfellow, Emerson, etc., in their broad culture involving the European ideals and classical forms of ancient Greece and Rome are truly typical of the American spirit in poetry. This we are willing in a measure to admit. But when you approach the question suggested above we must face the proposition that Walt Whitman is or is not the best representative of America's *independent* spirit of poetry.

We may further note that in thinking of the independent spirit of American poetry we do not mean, even in Whitman, to find that which is entirely new and strange and divorce it from the inheritance of all the best from past ages and foreign lands; for, his own contention was that the true American spirit meant to utilize just those very elements of the past and of foreign lands, but in a sense and power, original and indigenous to the very soil, atmosphere, ideals, struggles and spirit of our common everyday American individual and national living.



This is the contention of Emerson's noted address on The American Scholar. "The scholar is that man who must take up into himself all the ability of the time, all the contribution of the past, all the hopes of the future. He must be an university of knowledges. If there be one lesson more than another, which should pierce his ear, it is, The world is nothing, the man is all, in yourself is the law of all nature, and you know not yet how a globule of sap ascends; in yourself slumbers the whole of reason; it is for you to know all, it is for you to dare all. Mr. President and Gentlemen, this confidence in the unsearched might of man belongs, by all motives, by all prophecy, by all preparation to the American scholar. We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe. The spirit of American freeman is already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame. Public and private avarice makes the air we breathe thick and fat. The scholar is decent, indolent, complaisant. . . .

"Not so, brothers and friends—please God, ours shall not be so. We will walk on our own feet, we will work with our own hands, we will speak our own minds. The study of letters shall be no longer a name for pity, for doubt, and for sensual indulgence. The dread of man and the love of man shall be a wall of defence and a wreath of joy around all. A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men."

Prof. C. H. Page, of Columbia, declares that Whitman's work is the logical outcome of this address of Emerson on The American Scholar. In this several other critics of note agree. Emerson himself wrote to Whitman at the first appearance of *Leaves of Grass*: "I am not blind to the worth of the wonderful gift of *Leaves of Grass*. I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet produced. I am happy in reading it, as great power makes us happy. . . . I greet you at the beginning of a great career."

Speaking of the beginnings of a real democratic art in literature A. J. Symonds says, "Up to the present moment there are but few signs of any vital resurrection of the spirit. Not



only in Europe but in America also, culture continues to be mainly reproductive and imitative. The conflict of romanticism liberated taste; yet artists still handle worn-out themes in the old formal ways, without the earlier grasp upon them, without fervor of conviction, and without power to awake popular enthusiasm. So far as I am aware, only one living author has approached the problem with a full sense of its present urgency and ultimate preponderance. I allude to Walt Whitman, whose whole life has been employed in attempting to lay foundations for a new national literature."

Without taking pains to array other authorities, we at once see that our problem is a pivotal one and whether we will or not Walt Whitman, as a great independent force in American literature, must be fully considered. John Burroughs says, near the close of his volume on Whitman, "After what I have already said, my reader will not be surprised when I tell him that I look upon Whitman as the one mountain thus far in our literary landscape."

Fundamental in my whole experience with Whitman is one of Emerson's central principles; for, by the way, Whitman is New England Transcendentalism written large and brought down from the skies to the earth. This central Emersonian principle is that "I only know as I have lived." The great fundamental necessity of individuality and freedom is that we live at first-hand with God, nature and man. Here is exactly the significance of my experience with Walt Whitman. I approached him with prejudices; I soon studied him with sympathy; I was gripped with his ruling ideas; I had to shake myself thoroughly and straighten up to get my bearings; I could not at last follow him but my vision of things can never again be quite the same as before I met him. He made me think of living at first-hand with nature and so with myself as a man, at first hand with my fellowmen and at first-hand with God. In other words he leads into a bold individualism, an intense democracy and a broad religion. In each of these directions the independent spirit of America finds free expres-



sion in him as a poet. We are impressed and amazed at the audacity of his faith and his unconquerable persistence in it to the end.

I. First let us consider his power to make us live at first-hand with nature and thus with oneself. Almost everything in Whitman may be resolved to a simple theme—his reliance upon absolute nature.

“Creeds and schools in abeyance  
Retiring back awhile, sufficed at what they  
are, but never forgotten,  
I harbor for good or bad  
I permit to speak at every hazard,  
Nature without check, with original energy.”

That he permitted nature without check with original energy to speak in his own life is not to be questioned. In body and personality he was a most remarkable man. He believed in all the simple, natural, primal elements that make a man. His doctrine of identity made him ally man with all there is and was. He stood on the basis of modern science. He used it not for material but for inspiration. He seems to be an immaterial pantheist and yet he makes everything tell for the individual and personality. In the consciousness of man he finds the equal of all the great discoveries and deductions of science in outer nature. His *Leaves of Grass* is the outgrowth of science and modern ideas, as truly as Dante is the outgrowth of mediæval ideas and superstitions, or as Shakespeare is the expression of Feudalism. Nowhere among all our American poets have we such audacity of faith in man as natural man as in Walt Whitman.

What I want to emphasize here is his bold assertion of man as man. He celebrates manly pride, self-reliance, the deliciousness of sex; he glorifies the body, the natural appetites, nativity; he identifies himself with all human life good and bad. All is good. Man is Divine inside and outside, no more so about the head than about the loins. Let conventions and refinements stand back and let nature speak. The artificiality and insincerity of modern society with its infanticide, its



growing race suicide must needs learn anew the glory, sanctity and meaning of primal manhood and womanhood. Neither the restrictions, denials and safeguards with which the social order bind us, nor the dictates of a worldly prudence can ever redeem humanity. A greater man and woman, a still more fervid humanism, and a still more vehement love are demanded to purge the stream of life.

“I announce a man or woman coming—perhaps you are the one,  
(So long!)

I announce the greatest individual, fluid as Nature, chaste, affectionate,  
compassionate, fully armed.

I announce a life that shall be copious, vehement, spiritual, bold;

I announce an end that shall lightly and joyfully meet its translation;

I announce myriads of youths, beautiful, gigantic, sweet-blooded;

I announce a race of splendid and savage old men.”

What is usually attributed to Whitman's egotism and sensualism is, in fact, his emphasis of the primal elements of man as man. His *Leaves of Grass* reminds us much of the early primitive literature of the race. There is nothing of the Byronic note of lust and passion in him. He never celebrates the erotic spirit. As we study Whitman deeper, we feel once more the Edenic naturalness and goodness of man as man. No poet has ever so transported me into the elemental feelings of my youth; when the springs of life were new and fresh, when the secret, inner stirrings of manhood first came, when the sense of sex was paramount, when movement meant grace, speed and agility, when ideals mounted the clouds, when sympathetic comradeship was a passion, when everything was religious. None of our poets so made me feel that he who degrades the body degrades the soul. None has made the modern social sin so heinous with its corruptions and its barrenness, its inability to multiply and be fruitful, to replenish the earth and subdue it. No other of our poets has so made me feel the true place of sex in nature, nationality, and democracy. Man and woman are equal. Together and only together are the progenitors of the race. Stripped of the con-



ventions of society and empty prudishness, in the nakedness of elemental, primal, natural, divine manhood and womanhood, they must more and more live, work, mature, multiply and die and live again.

Nowhere in American literature do we find such an assertion of independence of creeds and traditions with reference to man as simply man.

II. In the second place let us consider how he brings us into first-hand touch with our fellowmen and lays the foundations of democracy.

It is generally a mistake to attribute the egotism and apparent sensuality of Whitman to himself as a man. He represents the Democratic man in the free assertion of his being. He is the type. He is in touch with all classes and conditions, good and bad, rich and poor. He lives and glories in them all. But he lives in them *en masse*. It is the whole people together.

“One’s-Self I sing—a simple, separate Person;  
 Yet utter the word Democratic, the word *en masse*.  
 Of Physiology from top to toe I sing;  
 Not physiognomy alone, nor brain alone, is worthy for the muse  
     —I say the Form complete is worthier far;  
 The female equally with the male I sing.  
  
 Of Life immense in passion, pulse, and power,  
 Cheerful—for freest action form’d, under the laws divine,  
 The Modern Man I sing.  
 . . . . .  
 I am the credulous man of qualities, ages, races;  
 I advance from the people in their own spirit;  
 Here is what sings unrestricted faith.”

Upon the great fundamental human interests he founds Democracy. Man as man, woman as woman, together are humanity. Social equality is paramount. Comradeship is above sex-love. It is the bond of states and the republic of the world.

“Come, I will make the continent <sup>arg</sup>ndissoluble;  
 I will make the most splendid race the sun ever yet shone upon;  
 I will make divine magnetic lands,  
     With the love of comrades,  
     With the life-long love of comrades.



I will plant companionship thick as trees along the rivers of America,  
 and 'long the shores of the Great Lakes, and all over the prairies;  
 I will make inseparable cities, with their arms around each others' necks;  
 By the love of comrades,  
 By the manly love of comrades.

For you these, from me, O Democracy, to serve you, ma femme!  
 For you! for you, I am trilling these songs,  
 In the love of comrades,  
 In the high towering love of comrades."

Many critics see in Whitman the first real giant of the democratic spirit in literature. I confess I could not read him without feeling the cosmic greatness of the individual man and the cosmic oneness of the human race with nature and God. He cannot be understood except in the light of the culmination of modern science interpreted in terms of man and human relations. Other democratic poets are lost in the cosmic setting of Whitman's poetry. The Divine Average, or the average man, speaks in him in clearer tones than in any other poet of the race. He calmly sets aside caste, culture, privileges and royalties. New standards are set. Everything is seen from the human and democratic point of view.

He is so confident of the triumph of American democracy that he declares openly that he uses America and Democracy as interchangeable terms. In one of his prose essays he says, "The United States is destined to surmount the gorgeous history of Feudalism or else prove the most stupendous failure of time." He recognizes that whilst America advances to a commanding position in wealth and strength and all material qualities of national greatness, a literature corresponding to her democracy has not yet appeared. The basis of such a literature he hopes to lay. In his assertion of America's independent spirit in poetry no one has been so audacious and none has come so near fulfilling his faith.

His democracy is intensely patristic and American but it is continental too. His foundations are as broad as humanity, nature and God. John Burroughs writes of him in this respect as follows:



“We must look for the origin of Whitman in the deep world-currents that have been shaping the destiny of the race for the past hundred years or more; in the universal loosening, freeing, and renewing of obstructions; in the emancipation of the people, and their coming forward and taking possession of the world in their own right; in the downfall of kingcraft and priestcraft; the growth of individualism and non-conformity; the increasing disgust of the soul of man with forms and ceremonies; the sentiment of realism and positiveness; the religious hunger that flees the churches; the growing conviction that life, that nature, are not failures, that the universe is good, that man is clean inside and outside, that God is immanent in nature,—all these things and more lie back of Whitman, and hold a causal relation to him.”

The advent of the people is the great characteristic of the past century. Richard Wagner wrote his litanies of the future in the turmoil of the revolutions of 1848. At one place he cries out “Who is to be the artist of the future? The poet? The actor? The musician? The sculptor? Let us put it in one word: The People.” Prof. Francis C. Gummere in a recent book, *Democracy and Poetry*, writes the following significant words about the poet of democracy. “It is a democrat of the western world who undertook to voice the people, to transcribe the age, to hail the ventures of new thought, science, the whole rush and roar of things and so chant with a will the litany of all ages and places.” And Blake’s oracular record, “Poetry fettered, fetters the human race,” heard or felt in mysterious communication of spirit to spirit, heartened this poet of the western world to be his own law of verse. What Chenier half planned to do, in exquisite proportion and harmonious rhythm, was now done with freedom from all bonds of form, and in the largest possible bulk, by the most conspicuously seen, the most hotly praised, and heartily flouted poet of all the mortal list. World and life and time spoke through Walt Whitman. And we cannot evade the question:



“Was Whitman the real poet of the people, the ultimate expression of true democracy in art?”

Was he the real poet of democracy is not quite the same question as the one before us—Was he the best representative of America’s independent spirit in poetry? Here again we would have to assert that he is the boldest democrat American literature has produced. We need to note, however, that he embraces good and evil in the mass here, in national, as in his sense of individual life. He lays hold of the positive expansive elements of democracy and life and becomes the unfaltering optimist of his age.

The democracy of Whitman is manifest in the themes and content of his work. Emerson in the *American Scholar* has this striking paragraph, with reference to one of the auspicious signs of the times:

“One of these signs is the fact that the same movement which effected the elevation of what was called the lowest class in the state, assumed in literature a very marked and as benign an aspect. Instead of the sublime and beautiful, the near, the low, the common, was explored and poetized. That which had been negligently trodden under foot by those who were harnessing and provisioning themselves for long journeys into far countries, is suddenly found to be richer than all foreign parts. The literature of the poor, the feelings of the child, the philosophy of the street, the meaning of household life, are the topics of the time. It is a great stride. It is a sign—is it not?—of new vigor when the extremities are made active, when currents of warm life run into the hands and the feet. I ask not for the great, the remote, the romantic; what is doing in Italy and Arabia, what is Greek art, or Provençal minstrelsy; I embrace the common, I explore and sit at the feet of the familiar, the low. Give me insight into today, and you may have the antique and future worlds. What would we really know the meaning of? The meal in the firkin; the milk in the pan; the ballad in the street; the news of the boat; the glance of the eye; the form and the gait of the body;—show me the



ultimate reason of these matters ; show me the sublime presence of the highest spiritual cause lurking, as always it does lurk, in these suburbs and extremities of nature ; let me see every trifle bristling with the polarity that ranges it instantly on an eternal law ; and the shop, the plough, and the ledger referred to the like cause by which light undulates and poets sing ;—and the world lies no longer a dull miscellany and lumber-room, but has form and order ; there is no trifle, there is no puzzle, but one design unites and animates the farthest pinnacle and the lowest trench.”

These are the elements the people must furnish to the poet of democracy. These the classical and feudal forms and their derivatives have scarcely touched, much less worked out. These are the themes of Whitman. The heroes of classic myth and history, the chivalry of the armed knight of feudal times, the high-born honor and loyalty of the royal blood of monarchic days, the passionate friendship of cultured spirits, —all these spring up new-born among the masses. They are no longer the property only of the privileged classes. The average man lives in all the graces of high thinking, true living and real rulership and service. The engine-driver steering his train at night over perilous viaducts, the life-boat man, the member of the fire brigade assailing houses toppling to their ruin among the flames ; these are found to be no less heroic than heroes of classic love or of idealized history. It is the same with the chivalrous respect for womanhood and weakness, with comradeship uniting men in brotherhood, with passion fit for tragedy, with beauty shedding light on human habitations. They no longer dwell afar in antique fable or dim mediæval legend. The plumed knight, the royal palace, the gartered gentry in all their best and worst now live in life and song, the incarnation of the people.

“What is commonest, cheapest, nearest, easiest, is Me,  
Me going in for my chances, spending for vast returns,  
Adorning myself to bestow myself on the first that will take me,  
Not asking the sky to come down to my good will,  
Scattering it freely forever.



The pure contralto sings in the organ loft,  
 The carpenter dresses his plank—the tongue of his foreplane whistles its  
     wild ascending lisp,  
 The married and unmarried children ride home to their Thansgiving  
     dinner,  
 The pilot seizes the king-pin—he heaves down with a strong arm,  
 The mate stands braced in the whale-boat—lance and harpoon are ready,  
 The duck-shooter walks by silent and cautious stretches,  
 The deacons are ordained with crossed hands at the altar,  
 The spinning-girl retreats and advances to the hum of the big wheel,  
 The farmer stops by the bars, as he walks on a First Day loafe, and  
     looks at the oats and the rye,  
 The lunatic is carried at last to the asylum, a confirmed case,  
 He will never sleep any more as he did in the cot in his mother's bedroom;  
 The jour printer with gray head and gaunt jaws works at his ease,  
 He turns his quid of tobacco, while his eyes blurr with the manuscript;  
 The malformed limbs are tied to the anatomist's table,  
 What is removed drops horribly in a pail;  
 The quadron girl is sold at the stand—the drunkard nods by the bar-  
     room stove,  
 The machinist rolls up his sleeves—the policeman travels his beat—the  
     gatekeeper marks who pass,  
 The young fellow drives the express wagon—I love him though I do not  
     know him,  
 The half-breed straps on his light boots to compete in the race," etc.

Indeed one must read Whitman through and through to feel how he has invested the people with the noblest and best, the ignoblest and worst of human life. It is the very spirit of democracy in its triumphant and optimistic mood to claim everything. But more is implied in this viewpoint. "There is a new and more deeply religious way of looking at mankind, a gradual triumph after so many centuries of the spirit which is Christ's, an enlarged faculty of piercing below externals and appearances to the truth and essence of things. God, the divine, is recognized as immanent in nature, and in the soul and body of humanity; not external to these things, not conceived of as creative from outside, or incarnated in any single personage, but as all-pervasive, all-constitutive, everywhere and in all."

Such a philosophy of democracy demanded its own art-form of expression. Here again Whitman was equal to the demand. Here his own declaration:



“In paths untrodden,  
In the growth of margins of the pond-waters,  
Escaped from the life that exhibits itself,  
From all the standards hitherto published—from the pleasures, profits,  
eruditions, conformities,  
Which too long I was offering to feed my soul;  
Clear to me now, standards not yet published—clear to me that my Soul,  
That the Soul of the man I speak for, feeds, rejoices most in Comrades.”

So he would declare that the new democratic art must be a speaking and being understood as comrades.

Shakespeare as the feudal priest of literature put poetry only in the mouths of kings and queens and nobles and lords and ladies and aspiring wits. Servants speak in prose. The common herd bawl or halloa or simply talk. The classic unities of the drama are violated; classic forms of poetry are ignored and Shakespeare long was counted a heretic in literature. But even as he delivered his age from the bondage of classic forms so today the demands of democratic art deliver us from the bondage of the feudal period, and the Shakespearian way of voicing human nature. Lo, the people have found a voice in poetry! Whitman claims to be their herald. His work is neither prose nor poetry according to accepted standards of poetic form, and yet after its kind it is poetry most real and true. The result of the conflict between Romanticism with Classicism has been such as to deliver us to freedom. The man of letters in democracy has the privilege of this freedom. Whitman demanded it and gave expression to himself and democracy in a poetic form all his own.

His strange broken verse, his cataloguing habit, his crudity of figure, his abruptness,—all have a bad effect on the cultured ears of classic critics. But despite the storm of abuse and ostracism no latter day students refuse Walt Whitman a high place in American literature. We cannot here go into a study of his verse or measured prose as you may choose to call it. It is sufficient to say that democratic art has at least begun to take form and Walt Whitman marks the beginning of an epoch.

III. Let us now, in the third place, briefly turn to his power



to make us feel a first-hand touch with God in nature and in human life.

The two points which we have already had in mind were individualism and democracy. The third is religion. We can in no way introduce it better than by quoting somewhat at length one of his finer passages.

“Each is not for its own sake;

I say the whole earth, and all the stars in the sky, are for Religion’s sake.

I say no man has ever yet been half devout enough;

None has ever yet adored or worship’d half enough;

None has begun to think how divine he himself is, and how certain the future is.

I say that the real and permanent grandeur of These States must be their own religion;

Otherwise there is no real and permanent grandeur:

(Nor character, nor life worthy the name, without religion;

Nor land, nor man, nor woman, without Religion.)

What are you doing young man?

Are you so earnest—so given up to literature, science, art, amours?

These ostensible realities, politics, points?

Your ambition or business, whatever it may be?

It is well—Against such I say not a word—I am their poet also;

But behold! such swiftly subside—burnt up for Religion’s sake;

For not all matter is fuel to heat, impalpable flame, the essential life of the earth,

Any more than such are to Religion.

What do you seek, so pensive and silent?

What do you need, Camerado?

Dear son! do you think it is love?

Listen, dear son—listen, America, daughter or son!

It is a painful thing to love a man or woman to excess—and yet it satisfies—it is great;

But there is something else very great—it makes the whole coincide;

It, magnificent, beyond materials, with continuous hands, sweeps and provides for all.

Know you! solely to drop in the earth the germs of a greater Religion, The following chants, each for its kind, I sing.



My comrades!

For you, to share with me, two greatnesses—and a third one, rising  
inclusive and more resplendent,

The greatness of Love and Democracy—and the greatness of Religion.”

Here again we have the boldest assertion of America's independent spirit in poetry. As the individual man stands forth in the nakedness of being and lives toward the fulness of his naturally divine life; as the people in like manner live in the growing greatness of humanity; so man in his religious life is everywhere with God. “God is in all and through all and over all.” Man is his creature and divine through and through. There is no god more sacred than himself. Man is ever a new creation. So-called evil is but a part of the process of his being. Man but needs to know himself as he is to be himself as he ought to be.

At every point he seems to contradict the traditional view of religion. It begins with a curse. Sense of sin, repentance, forgiveness, new life are its processes. Creeds and rituals, priests and confessors are its instruments. Heaven is gained by denying earth. Salvation is in the church, the ark of safety. The majority of mankind are cursed to perdition.

He would begin life with a new song of creation and not a curse. God's work is not a tragedy but a growing consummation. There is no devil whose machinations can ruin the work of infinite being. The whole human attitude toward the universe, toward God, toward life, toward good and evil is changed.

The strange feature of his case is that he lived enthusiastically in his faith and persisted in it buoyantly to the end. He illustrated his democratic religion in which every man is his own creed, priest, and ritual. In the true democracy there will be no need of churches, even as John in Revelation saw the new Jerusalem and said, “I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple thereof.” Only Whitman would not have added “and the Lamb.” Directness of touch with self, nature, fellowmen and God with-



out intervention of any mediators, this is the coming religion of democracy.

Such a faith in life meant a greater faith in death. No poet ever believed more firmly in immortality.

“Great is Life, real and mystical, wherever and whoever;  
Great is Death—sure as life holds all parts together, Death holds all  
parts together.  
Has Life much purport?—Ah, Death has the greater purport.”

It was not without deeper meaning that he would speak much of death in his democratic religion.

“’Tis not for nothing, Death,  
I sound out you, and words of you, with daring tone—embodying you,  
In my new democratic chants—keeping you for a close,  
For last impregnable retreat—a citadel and tower,  
For my last stand—my pealing, final cry.”

It is forward that we go, not backward when we pass through the dark narrow gate. We go in the momentum of our living being too, we are not dead.

“Forever alive, forever forward,  
Stately, solemn, sad, withdrawn, baffled, mad, turbulent, feeble, dissatisfied,  
Desperate, proud, fond, sick, accepted by men, rejected by men,  
They go! they go! I know that they go, but I know not where they go,  
But I know that they go toward the best—toward something great.”

He loved the ocean as a figure of life and death and life again. He thought of man as the voyager sailing the eternal seas, those seas of time and no time. How beautifully he thinks of the final cruise.

“Now finale to the shore!  
Now, land and life, finale, and farewell!  
Now Voyager depart! (much, much for thee is yet in store;)  
Often enough hast thou adventur’d o’er the seas,  
Cautiously cruising, studying the charts,  
Duly again to port, and hawser’s tie, returning;  
—But now obey, thy cherish’d secret wish,  
Embrace thy friends—leave all in order;  
To port, and hawser’s tie, no more returning,  
Depart upon your endless cruise, old sailor!”



The haven at last is in sight and who could cry with more evident sense of triumph and bliss—

“Joy! shipmate—joy!  
(Pleased to my Soul at death I cry;)  
Our life is closed—our life begins;  
The long, long anchorage we leave,  
The ship is clear at last—she leaps!  
She swiftly courses from the shore;  
Joy! shipmate—joy!”

We answer our question in the affirmative. Yes, Walt Whitman is the best representative of America's independent spirit in poetry. Others have followed him. The most important are Richard Hovey, Bliss Carmen, and Edwin Markham. Markham is the greatest of these. He is far more of an artist than Whitman but lacks his massive greatness, although his point of view is much the same. There is one great exception, however, and should you ask who the real poet of Democracy thus far in our history is, I might answer Edwin Markham, simply because he fulfills in part the one great negative criticism to be made of Whitman.

A high position in this question has been taken. No man in American literature, not even Poe, was so much loved and hated. None was the occasion of such an abundance of critical literature as he. It is true that whilst he carries us on the bosom of his stream of optimism; he likewise, by the very force of the current, carries us into an eddy of reaction almost as strong and persistent as the forward impulsion of the stream itself. The criticism that ultimately arises comes out of the very heart of his point of view of life. But he must be heard and with him we must reckon. Though you protest and criticise him he would answer you:

“The spotted hawk swoops by and accuses me—he complains of my gab  
and my loitering.  
I too am not a bit tamed—I too am untranslatable;  
I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world.”

In this independent spirit he lived and wrote and would transmit to a new generation the laws of democratic art.



“Laws for Creations,

For strong artists and leaders—for fresh broods of teachers, and perfect  
literats for America,

For noble savans and coming musicians.

All must have reference to the ensemble of the world, and the compact  
truth of the world;

There shall be no subject too pronounced—All works shall illustrate the  
divine law of indirections.

What do you suppose Creation is?

What do you suppose will satisfy the soul, except to walk free and to  
own no superior?

What do you suppose I would intimate to you in a hundred ways, but  
that man or woman is as good as God?

And that there is no God any more divine than Yourself?

And that that is what the oldest and the newest myths finally mean?

And that you or any one must approach Creations through such laws?”

The one criticism to which reference was just made is central and attacks the very citadel of his point of view. The immediacy of conscious touch for good and progress of men with self, nature, fellowmen, and God is not such as his optimism declares. He does not make sufficient allowance for the immaturity of the race on one hand and its positive sinfulness on the other. He embraces evil freely enough, but he fails to feel it. For him it is only a foil to the good. It is part of the mysterious, dread machinery which is meant to turn out free immortal men and women. He takes the open road to the essentials of human life and optimistically would proclaim the triumph of Democracy. He, with all his optimism, however, is not constructive. He is a seer. His vision evidently is before him, but he gives nothing but the vision, no ways and means, by which to build up the people, to be strong enough to live with him. Henry James in his book entitled, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, speaks of Whitman as one of the prominent representatives of the “religion of healthy mindedness.” “Walt Whitman,” he says, “owes his importance in literature to the systematic expulsion from his writings of all *contractile* elements. The only sentiments he allowed himself to express were of the expansive order; and he expressed



these in the first person, not as your mere monstrously conceited individual might so express them, but vicariously for all men, so that a passionate and mystic ontological emotion suffuses his words, and ends by persuading the reader that men and women, life and death, and all things are divinely good."

That is it exactly, the "contractible elements" he ignores, the "expansive" he exalts. As a matter of fact with all his sympathy with the common life of man, he fails to touch the secret of their real needs. In our own lives as individuals we all are delighted with a vision of a glorified human body and soul in real life but we must know more than the vision. Complete living involves three great things, first a direction; second, a goal; third, enough life-force to get there. Here is where Whitman fails. Despite his loud egoistic individualism, his philosophy fails to support the individual just at the critical point when moral disaster overtakes the soul.

The same applies to his optimistic view of Democracy. To him America and democracy were not only interchangeable terms but were also synonyms for success and triumph. He knew nothing of the reactionary tendencies of democracy in the last twenty-five years. The polarity of the present political situation, with a reactionary conservatism at one end, and a distrustful socialism at the other, was unknown to him and sufficiently refuted his rosy democratic optimism. A large plutocratic class pleading trusteeship of the great utilities of life and the conservation of the past is becoming very distrustful of the masses and a universal suffrage. Government by commission in various forms, the members of which sometimes are appointed, less often elected, has arisen. Reduction of representation of the people on public boards is called for, etc. Concentration of authority in state and nation is demanded. Distrust of democracy is ripe among the extremely wealthy and the business-holding and money-making middle classes. From the opposite side of the social scale there is even a louder distrust of representative democracy. The Socialists and thousands of laboring men and others not yet



in their ranks are demanding the acts of initiative, referendum and recall to be placed on our statute books. They doubt the practicability of representative democracy in maintaining justice and equality in business and industry. They clamor for the socialization of all the means of communication, travel and trade, the instruments and means of production, the mines and lands. None of these things enter the optimism of Whitman's democracy. It lacks the authority of conservatism, and the orderliness of socialism. It is full of the ego of an extreme individualism and a kind of lawlessness. It is destructive and not constructive. He ignores the problems of ignorance, immaturity and sin in society. He does not meet the necessity of organization and coöperation in social order. His comradeship is a comradeship of individuals who understand each other but not the common problem. A mere declaration of independence does not remove the bondage of selfishness and sin in which men live. He cries out in vain

"Unscrew the locks from the doors;  
Unscrew the doors themselves from the jambs."

This can never be done with success now any more than in the days of the French Revolution. In art, in nature, in government, in industry, in religion, the world cannot be built with nothing but centrifugal forces.

Let me, therefore, change the wording of our question: Is Walt Whitman the real poet of American Democracy? I would say no. He is yet to come. In method and spirit Markham is more like this coming poet but he too is not yet this coming one.

All this implies a criticism of Whitman's Democratic Art, both as to form and content. He found expression for his view and in large measure was true to it. His idea of speaking en masse in his own cosmic sort of consciousness for the deeper needs of man is inadequate, far too egoistic and individualistic. As a matter of fact no artist can ever be a law unto himself. He ignores convention and yet convention is



one of the great allies of democracy. "Together" and "co-operation" are its great watchwords. It is this that is wanting in the form and content of Whitman's poetry. His words do not lock-step and his meter lacks harmony. The rhythm of the democratic multitude in peace and industry cannot be heard. It fits the world of war-times but not of peace and progress. The masses never rallied around him. They never will. In war-time he pointed toward a goal. He is not to be despised. His work points both in form and content to the coming one who is really to be the poet of the people.

And just a final word with reference to the mediators of human good. Truth comes to us in mystic, mysterious measure from the cosmic consciousness in which we all live but truth comes likewise through personality and in the upward course and struggle of man there always will be the need of the prophet, priest, and king. With the prophet belong all the ethical seers of all types who would bring the larger vision of life down to man; with the priest belong all who would bring the deep hunger and needs of the human heart upward to God; with the king belong all who are called to be leaders and governors of men in justice, righteousness and love.

These are the great offices of life, created by life and its necessities, in the upward struggle of the race. As long as ignorance, immaturity and sin exist among men, so long will prophets, priests, and kings of the common good be called for service and among them those who are greatest are they who serve most. Times change but man is always man. The form and name of the great offices of human life change but the transmission of truth through personality goes on in reality and essence always and God still gives varying gifts to men. The election to service has always declared the living priests and prophets and kings of men. Walt Whitman's dream of a prophetless, priestless, kingless world is after all but a vision of an impossible Utopia. The days still are when men look for a Son of God who is the mediator of life and teaches them



to live by his guidance at first-hand with God the Eternal Father.

“A people is but the attempt of many  
To rise to the completer life of one;  
And those who live as models for the mass  
Are singly of more value than they all.”

When can men cease to look to God's Anointed One, who

“brought fresh stuff  
For us to mould, interpret and prove right,—  
New feelings fresh from God?”

Somehow conscious, known truth, is truth known only in and through personality. It is always mediated truth. Of the great Mediator, Jesus of Nazareth, we may well say, believing in Him as “the way, the truth, and the life,”

“Then did the form expand, expand—  
I knew Him through the dread disguise  
As the whole God within His eyes  
Embraced me.”

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## V.

### THE PLACE OF PAUL IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

OSWIN S. FRANTZ.

Religion is by some defined as the "life of God in the soul of man." Christianity is by us regarded as the one true and final religion. It follows therefore that Christianity is a life, and not a mere theory. And as a life it finds its existence in the hearts of men. And as hearts vary, that which lives within tends to vary, *i. e.*, it tends to adapt itself to its surroundings. Christianity, therefore, having passed through many and varied men has been fashioned and moulded by the most representative of the men through whom it has passed. Each forceful life has had its influence upon it. Some of these influences have been of such a marked nature as to be readily distinguished by the observant eye while others have hardly left any mark at all. It is our privilege, then, in studying the Christianity of the present or of any past generation to trace to their sources the various elements found in the Christianity of the period under consideration. This brings us to the task set before us in this paper. We are to determine, if possible, Paul's place in early Christianity, which we understand to mean, Paul's part in the formation and development of Christianity.

Christianity derives its name from Christ, its founder. The life of Jesus, therefore, may be regarded as the first soil in which this new God-life in man had its existence. He is the first one to give it form and shape and character. And to Him must be given the undisputed right of being the founder of Christianity and the source of its life. From Him it reached out into the lives of others. And as this new life entered upon new soil it was obliged to adapt itself to new con-



ditions and naturally appeared in new shapes and forms. Christianity passing from Christ through the hearts and lives of the apostles and Christians of a later day has met with many and varied experiences, some of which have had an evil effect upon it while others have added new life.

Undoubtedly the apostle Paul stands next to Christ as a moulder of Christianity. No other man has left such a marked impress upon the religion of Jesus Christ as the apostle Paul. In passing through Paul Christianity developed into such a form that it could find a home in other than Jewish soil. And in as much as the Gentile world was destined to become the soil in which Christianity was to flourish it is evident that Paul's part in making Christianity a world religion was of the highest importance.

It can readily be seen that the reason why Paul became the greatest contributor to Christianity is to be found in the nature of the task he felt himself called upon to perform. The great work of Paul was to bring Christianity out of Palestine and transplant it among the Greeks and Romans, chief of all civilized people. Jewish Christianity lived apart from the main current of the world's history. It was Paul's part to bring it into the main current, which at that time was running through Greece and Rome. And in order to have Christianity live in this new element it had to undergo changes. As Wernle says, "It had to measure its strength with the religions, the civilization, and the philosophy of the leading nations in the world's history. It had to enter into their needs, their language, and their social intercourse, assuming now a friendly, now a hostile attitude. It was bound to undergo a radical transformation, not merely of external form but of innermost essence. For as a simple community of brethren, believing in the Messiah and obeying the words of Jesus, there was no hope of its enduring in the midst of the civilization of the world" (Vol. I., p. 159). Many of Paul's contributions to Christianity have their source in his trying to make it meet successfully these new conditions.



The apologetic as well as the missionary nature of his work caused a large number of his contributions to Christianity. He was obliged to defend himself and his religion against the attacks of Judaism, on the one hand, and heathenism, on the other. In this noble defense which Paul put up against the attacks of his enemies he brought into prominence certain features of Christianity that might otherwise never have been insisted upon.

But when we say that Paul put new interpretations upon the Gospel of Jesus and perhaps inculcated new ideas into the Christianity of Jesus and the other apostles we must not think that he was disloyal to his Lord and Master. He is not a founder of a new religion, and he did not wish to be accounted such. He was even opposed to the idea of having a Pauline party. "If only Christ be preached," this word which he uttered so earnestly vindicates his loyalty to the Son of God in spite of any foreign contributions he may have added to Christianity. He at all times recognized Christ as his Master, and whatever he did he did with a view of serving Him. So the prominence given to his Christianity over that even of Jesus in the sub-Apostolic Church was unsought on his part. We may agree with Zahn that Paul's teaching was dominant in the sub-Apostolic Church and the pre-Reformation period, but at the same time we can feel assured that Paul sought no such predominance. He wanted Christ to predominate.

#### THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

Paul's place in early Christianity was determined largely by his conception of the person of Christ. It is here where he differed most widely from the other Apostles. Paul never knew Christ in the flesh. The chances are that he never saw Him (see II Cor. 5:16). We are certain at least that he never associated enough with Jesus to know Him. His conception of Jesus, therefore, was determined by his vision of Him on the road to Damascus. And there, of course, he saw, not Jesus as He appeared in the flesh, but the glorified Christ.



The idea impressed upon him in that vision was, not the humanity but the divinity of Christ. With Paul, therefore, one of the prominent ideas of his Gospel was the divinity and pre-existence of Christ. We can see the influence of this predominant thought in the titles of Jesus he used. There were three titles which had been commonly used of Jesus in the earliest Christian community. They were, Messiah, Son of Man, and Son of God.

He accepts the title Messiah much in its Jewish sense, and perhaps also for the sake of the Jews. He employs the word in the old eschatological sense, as the Lord of the kingdom of heaven that is at hand. He nowhere attaches any new significance to the word. He himself awaits the advent of the Messiah, earnestly looks forward to the day of the Messiah, and considers all Christians to be living in expectation of Messiah's revelation. Thus he at times speaks of the Messiah. But the Jesus that is yet to come is of less importance to him than the Jesus who has come already. We find him more looking back to the Christ that was and is than to the Christ that is to be. So that the Messianic title had no special weight with Paul, neither did it play a prominent part in his theology. Besides, the word Christ which was the Greek word for Messiah had but little meaning to the Greeks, and so he introduced two Greek titles instead: Lord and Savior. These terms, perhaps contrary to Paul's intention, came to be the means of separating Jesus altogether from the Messianic picture and of bringing Him nearer to the dignity of the Godhead.

The second title, Son of Man, Paul abandoned. It conveyed too much the idea of mere human descent. Paul was exceedingly careful to make the divinity of Jesus as prominent as possible and so he refrained from using titles of Jesus that would tend to detract from the idea of His divinity. Hence Son of Man is seldom, if ever used by Paul as a title of Jesus. Of course he does speak of him at times as a man. And as a man he compares Him with the father of men—



Adam. He speaks of Him as the father of a new race. But even as a man Christ was the Son of God. He was the one who preëxisted His earthly stage. He was a man who had come forth as the result of God's emptying Himself. So with Paul the divinity of Christ was in mind even when he speaks of His humanity.

The other title in use in early Christianity was the Son of God. This was rich in meaning for St. Paul as well as for his Greek disciples. The Son of God with Paul is a heavenly being who has been with God from before the ages. He is more than man, for He became man. This fact of His being more than man was settled for Paul in the vision he had of Jesus. As he here saw Jesus as a heavenly being in glory, so he had to picture Him as existing from the beginning of time. The Jesus of Paul was the Son of God who had coexisted with God from the very beginning.

"By means of his vision," says Wernle, "St. Paul became the creator of a new Christology." And the predominant feature of that vision was the glorified divine Lord. The conception of the preëxistent glorified divine Lord thus became the center of this new Christology.

#### THE CRUCIFIXION.

When we come to Paul's conception of the death and resurrection of Christ we come to something that is peculiar to him. Stevens says with reference to the crucifixion of Jesus, "The Apostle Paul was, so far as we know, the first man who grappled boldly with this problem and sought to prove that the death of Jesus on the cross was the culmination of His saving work and the crowning glory of His Messianic vocation" (p. 403, *The Theology of the New Test*). Those of the Apostles before the time of Paul's apostleship who were confronted with this problem of explaining the crucifixion could do no better than prove from the Old Testament that such an event was not incoherent with the Jewish conception of the Messiah. About all that the earliest of the Apostles tried to



prove was the Messiahship of Jesus. If, therefore, they could show from the Scriptures that the death of Jesus as it actually took place had been foretold by the Prophets and that it was not inconsistent with God's idea of the Messiah they thought they had done all that was required of them. And they succeeded in doing this fairly well.

But Paul took a different view of the matter. His explanation of the crucifixion of Jesus was more than apologetic. He found room for the crucifixion in his theory of salvation. Indeed it became for him the heart and center of his theology. We have said that Paul's Christianity and his theology have their source in his vision of the risen Lord. After Paul had that vision he could think of nothing that had happened to Jesus during His life on earth that had not in it an element of the divine. So even that most shameful and accursed death on the cross appeared to him as something divine. By the sacrifice on the cross God's message of love and grace was conveyed to man. And through this love and grace Paul became assured of the pardon of his sins and of the blessedness of a new life. This was a real personal experience with him. "Henceforth," says Wernle, "it is for him the fixed center round which all history turns, the source of all comfort, of all peace with God. St. Paul sees the motto 'God for us' written in great letters over the cross" (p. 238).

Men before Paul's deliverance on the significance of the cross had found value in the death of Jesus. They thought of it as a punishment, but not a punishment for Jesus' sin, as the Jews claimed, but a punishment for the guilt of the Jewish people. It came to be a Gospel message that Jesus died for the sins of those that repent and set their hopes upon His death. This conception Paul practically accepted. But he added a great deal to it. His additions were mainly the conception of sacrifice, propitiation, redemption and reconciliation. But in all these conceptions the predominant feature was the love of God. So we may well say that Paul's addition to the interpretation of the crucifixion of Jesus was that it was an expression of the love of God.



## THE RESURRECTION.

Linked with the crucifixion is the resurrection. This event in the career of Jesus was made much of by all His followers. It gave the disciples who were brought to despair by the death of Jesus new hope and courage. In the resurrection they saw the vindication of their Leader. It was to them perhaps the most significant event in His entire history. At least they made much of it in their preaching. The one theme that was sure to be a part of their message was the resurrection of Him who had been crucified. They taught also that this resurrection of Jesus was a sure pledge of their own resurrection in the last day. So we cannot claim for Paul the distinction of originating the New Testament doctrine of the resurrection. Others had made a noble beginning before he came upon the scene.

And yet we find some originality in Paul's theory of the resurrection of Jesus and its significance to mankind. While it is true that others had regarded the resurrection of Jesus as a pledge of the resurrection of the rest of mankind, it was Paul who brought that resurrection from the distant future to the immediate present. Paul saw in that vision which brought about his conversion the risen glorified Lord. He was impressed with the absence of flesh and sin and all else that belongs to man's lower nature and the presence of an effulgence of Spirit and life. This vision helped to form Paul's ideal, and he believed that this ideal in part at least could be reached in this life. To reach this ideal meant of course to get rid of the flesh, sin and death, and to get filled with the Spirit and life. The resurrection of Jesus was to Paul symbolical of the birth of this new life. Just as the death of Jesus was followed by His resurrection and life, so in the Christian there can be a death of the old man and the birth of the new. The resurrection, therefore, has a meaning for the present life. It carries with it the thought that the power of death, sin, the flesh, the descent from Adam was at an end. The old world was passing away, a new world was at hand.



Here Paul is in harmony with the teaching of Jesus in so far at least as Jesus represented the Kingdom of heaven as being at hand. Jesus' idea of the Kingdom being in the hearts of men and enjoyed by them in this life, and Paul's idea of this new world and new life have much in common. They differ, however, in their views as to the source of this new life which is common to both. Jesus bases the presence of the Kingdom on His presence in the world. Paul bases this new life largely on the resurrection of Jesus. The one laid stress upon the character, teaching and life of Jesus; the other on a single event. Paul possibly exaggerated the value of Jesus' resurrection. Wernle says, "It was a misfortune for the new religion, and in contradiction with the progressive spirit of Jesus, that the one miracle in the past thereby became the foundation for Christianity" (p. 246, Vol. I.).

#### THE BELIEVER'S RELATION TO CHRIST.

Having considered Paul's views concerning the person of Christ and the two outstanding events connected with that person, namely, the crucifixion and the resurrection, we shall next consider Paul's views of the Believer's Relation to Christ. It took Paul a long time to get clear on this point. It is generally assumed that the three years in Arabia were spent in meditation and study with a view of getting into the clear as to his own relation to the Lord whom he had seen while on his way to Damascus. If that was the burden of Paul's work during that period we may regard those three years as well spent. For Paul presents a beautiful and comforting theory concerning the believer's relation to Christ.

Perhaps the controlling idea in his theory of the true relation between Christ and the believer is expressed in the phrase, "the life of Christ in the believer." McGiffert says that the Gospel of Paul as presented in his letter to the Romans is "the Gospel of the divine life in man" (p. 329). This Gospel Paul preached not only to the Romans but wherever he went. It was the Gospel in which he himself found the greatest com-



fort. It satisfied his own longings. He felt that he enjoyed the possession of this divine life. He does not hesitate to say, "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. 2:20). This oneness with Christ was for Paul no mere figure of speech, it was an actuality. He was one with Christ the second Adam just as truly as his fleshly nature was one with the first Adam. And this oneness with Christ gave Paul the assurance of salvation, which meant for him deliverance from sin and the flesh, freedom from the law, and life eternal.

It assured him of salvation because it helped him to be delivered from sin and the flesh. The flesh with Paul was sinful. How could he overpower it? Not by his own will—that was too weak. But the Christ within him has power to control the flesh. And he is under the control of the Christ and so long as this is the case the flesh is powerless. It is only as the divine Spirit is neglected, as the Christ in him is driven out that sin and the flesh can come into control. The true believer who has died unto the flesh and has been raised with Christ unto a new life must therefore see to it that he allows this Christ in him to be in control. Paul exhorts his readers to keep their bodies in subjection, to walk in the spirit, and to strengthen themselves with might by His Spirit in the inner man. In so doing will they be freed from the bondage of sin and the flesh.

This oneness with Christ also assures Paul of freedom from the Law. Law exists only where there is sin. And sin with Paul was attached to the flesh. Christ lived under the Law while He lived in the flesh. But He died unto the flesh and thus was discharged from the Law. In the new life of the Spirit in which Christ lived after death He was no longer subject to the Law. So every believer who dies unto the flesh with Christ and with Him is born into the life of the Spirit is thereby discharged from the Law. He who is one with Christ is free from the Law, for Christ is free from it. Upon this freedom from the Law Paul unequivocally insists. The Law



is in effect only for those who are living unto the flesh, and for them its purpose is to convict them of sin. As soon as the Law has accomplished that and the penitent sinner has accepted and become one with Christ the strength of the Law is gone.

This oneness with Christ also assures Paul of eternal life. According to Paul eternal life begins in dying unto the flesh and receiving the new life in the Spirit. After this has taken place there can be no more death for the believer. That which is called death is the death, not of the man himself, but of his flesh. The believer himself who has become one with Christ continues to live through eternity.

After the believer has been freed from his bondage to the flesh he is, of course, in need of a body. So Paul conceives the idea of a spiritual body. This spiritual body is not the former body purified. It is a body of an entire different nature. "It is distinguished from the old fleshly body just as sharply as the new spiritual life is distinguished from the old fleshly life. The resurrection of one's body, therefore, is simply the natural sequence of one's resurrection with Christ to the new life in the Spirit here on earth. Those who have already risen here in the spirit shall rise again after the death of their present bodies in a new spiritual body, by its very nature holy and immortal, and thus fitted for the new spiritual and eternal life" (McG., p. 135).

It will be seen that in all these theories growing out of the idea of the believer's oneness with Christ Paul makes much use of the contrast between the flesh and the spirit, law and gospel, death and life. He was the first to bring into prominence these contrasts.

Having seen Paul's view on the believer's relation to Christ, the next question that presents itself is, How can this relation, this oneness with Christ be attained and maintained? In other words, what are the means whereby a person may become one with Christ?



## FAITH.

The one means without which there can be no union with Christ is faith. Paul is the great apostle of faith. His Gospel was the life of God in the soul of man. But this life of God could gain entrance into the soul of man only through faith. It is therefore the first essential to salvation. Faith holding this important position in Paul's system of thought needs to be defined. McGiffert says, "Faith, according to Paul, is the act whereby a man identifies himself with Christ, becomes actually one with Him in nature, and is thus enabled to die and rise again with Him. . . . It is not mere assent, intellectual or moral, it is not mere confidence in Christ's words or in His promises, it is not a mere belief that He is what He claims to be, but it is the reception of Christ himself into the soul. Faith is simply the attitude of receptivity toward Christ" (p. 141). With this definition of faith as conceived by Paul, Wernle agrees. He says, "Faith is nothing else than receptivity for God's love, the suffering oneself to receive the gift, the being seized by God" (p. 301). Where this faith, this attitude of receptivity is missing, there can be no salvation, no uniting with Christ, no receiving of God's love, no forgiveness of sins, no dying unto the flesh, no rising in the new life of the spirit. Faith is, therefore, the indispensable means to obtain the blessings of the Christian religion. It is the "sine qua non." "Extra fidem nulla salus."

## THE CHURCH.

The first requisite for attaining to the ideal relation with Christ is faith. But this faith soon made the Church a necessary means of operation. Paul emphasized justification by faith and the salvation of the believer but he also made the Church a necessary means for the operation of this faith and the gaining of salvation. Paul was not the founder of the Church. The Christian Community had its existence before Paul became a Christian. The Christian Church as a separate and distinct institution came to be such through a grad-



ual process of development. The principles set forth were the seeds from which the Church grew. The growing of these seeds developed first into a sect within the Jewish Church and then into a separate Communion known as the Christian Church. We may safely say that Paul brought about the external rupture between the Christian and the Jewish Church. As a separate and distinct communion the Church dates from St. Paul. But Paul did more than merely effect this separation. He more than any of the Apostles developed the idea of the actual necessity of the Church as a means of salvation. He made the Church and Christ one. The spirit of Christ he confined to the Church. Faith in Christ therefore meant faith in the Church and salvation through faith meant salvation through and in the Church. The Church was for him the body of Christ. And for any one to become one with Christ meant that he must become one with the Church. The Spirit of Christ was confined to the Church, and for any one to have the Spirit of Christ in him necessitated his being a member of the Church. Paul originated the idea expressed later by the words: "Extra ecclesiam nulla salus."

It is true that Paul's teaching is not equally emphatic at all times with regard to the importance of the Church. Indeed it is quite contradictory at times. When he spoke from experience Paul had to teach that salvation did not need to pass through the Church, for he himself gained his apart from the Church. He based his oneness with Christ on experiences quite independent of the Church. He won his peculiar relation to Christ not through the Church, but through individual experiences, such as his vision on the road to Damascus, communion and fellowship with Christ, dying unto the flesh and rising with Him unto the new life of the Spirit. He even boasts that he did not get his Gospel from the lips of the other Apostles but from God himself. The Church, if it had any existence at that time, certainly found its existence in the community of the believers of which Peter, James, and John were the pillars. And yet Paul received his Gospel, his deliv-



erance from sin, his assurance of salvation independently of this community of believers. The Church was not a necessity for him personally. And the privilege that he claimed for himself he could not help but grant unto others. Consequently one finds him speaking at times of faith in Christ independently of the Church as being not only possible but as the only essential.

But his labors among the Gentiles gradually forced upon him the other extreme, namely, salvation through the Church only. In order to impress upon the Gentiles the importance of the Church he went so far as to make it an absolute necessity. He therefore made the saving grace of Christ commensurate with the Christian Church. Christ and the Church he made one. To have faith in Christ must mean to have faith in the Church. To be saved by Christ must mean to be saved through and in the Church. Hence, "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*"

It was here where Paul was beginning to depart from the teaching of Jesus and approaching the teachings of Catholicism of a later century. Jesus came to free his people from institutionalism. Paul here begins to lead his followers back into it. Jesus introduced a simplified and practical religion. Paul sows the seed of a mystic and theoretic religion. The fruit of this sowing ripened in the Catholic Church in the pre-Reformation period. Little did Paul think what he was giving rise to.

#### THE SACRAMENTS.

The indispensableness of the Christian Church leads to another medium of grace not to be dispensed with, namely, the sacraments. When Paul came to the point where the Church was an absolute necessity as a means of salvation he had to include certain rites of the Church among the essentials; chief among these were baptism and the Lord's Supper. Paul certainly was not the originator of either one of these ceremonies. He found both in the Church when he took hold of Christian



work. He could not throw them out. Neither do we believe that he had any desire so to do. For both sacraments served a good purpose for him, the one as a form of entrance into the Church, the other as a means whereby the believer's relation with Christ was maintained and strengthened.

#### BAPTISM.

Baptism was first made a sacrament by Paul. The practice of baptizing was in vogue before, but hitherto it had been valued as a sign of membership and a condition of redemption. Paul made it a sacrament by regarding the external act as a means of salvation. It is in his letter to the Romans where he elucidates the fullest upon baptism, and there he uses sacramental language. He would have baptism regarded as a miracle and a mystery. The baptized convert should believe that he steps forth from the water a different person to what he was when he entered it. Baptism was the means of dying with Christ and being raised with Him into the life of the Spirit. It was a necessary means of becoming one with Christ, one with the Church, and a sharer of the redemption brought about by the death of Christ.

#### THE LORD'S SUPPER.

As baptism was the form of entrance into the Church and the means of becoming one with Christ, so the Lord's Supper became the means of maintaining this oneness with Christ by supplying the participant with the spirit and power of Christ. For Paul taught that the Lord's Supper was no ordinary meal, that it was a meal at which one eats no ordinary bread and drinks no ordinary wine, but partakes of the body and blood of Christ. It was a spiritual food and a spiritual drink, that is, a channel for the conveyance of the powers of salvation.

St. Paul was the first to contrast the Holy food consecrated at the Supper with all other that is profane. In his letter to the Corinthians he goes so far as to claim that the sickness and



death of so many Christians was due to their profane participation in the Holy meal. The bread and wine were given a magical power of feeding the participant with spiritual food. The Lord's Supper thus became a necessary means of salvation. It became a sacrament.

It will be seen that this conception of the Lord's Supper is not in harmony with the rest of Paul's teaching. The predominant and fundamental idea in Paul's idea of salvation is the working of the Spirit of Christ in the believer. But here he attaches a value to the body and blood, that which was perishable in Jesus. In general Paul sought riddance from flesh and blood, but here he makes flesh and blood the handmaids of the Spirit. Why it is that in this case he makes an exception to his general system of thought is difficult to understand. As Wernle says, "The reason probably is that he found here an institution already existing which could only obtain a place in his spiritual doctrine of salvation with extreme difficulty. But he did find a place for it and thereby made it a sacrament. . . . It appears to us at the present day exceedingly strange that the hero of the Word should at the same time have become the creator of the sacrament. He himself, every one who knows anything about St. Paul knows that, needed no ceremonial magic, as the Spirit within him testified to him of God's love and Jesus had set him free from the ceremonies of the Law. But through the reception of the sacrament into his doctrine of redemption he has himself a share in the origin of that Catholicism which made him a saint while at the same time it stamped out his spirit" (p. 274).

Salvation, as Paul conceives it, is in its essence the imparting of divine power. The willingness of God to impart this power is indicated by the sacrificial death of Jesus, the Son of God, which death was a manifestation and a pouring out of God's love for mankind. The reception of this divine power or Spirit will result in a oneness with Christ which will eventually result in the believer's deliverance from flesh and sin,



freedom from the Law, and the gift of eternal life with God the Father. This oneness with Christ is gained through faith in Jesus as the Savior and through the Church as the medium through which the Spirit of Christ operates, having the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper as the principal agencies of bringing the divine power to the individual believer. This in summary is Paul's conception of salvation and the means of obtaining the same. Some of it is in common with the teachings of the Apostles; more of it is in harmony with the teaching of Jesus; a large part of the remainder is peculiar to Paul. There remains now the task of pointing out the fate of this Pauline conception and the influence it had upon the formation of the New Testament and the later Catholic Church.

#### THE FATE AND INFLUENCE OF PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

"St. Paul, the founder of the science of the Church, is the father of the New Testament, although he himself certainly thought of nothing less than that." This statement made by Wernle seems at first thought an exaggeration, if not an untruth, and challenges a thorough investigation. A close study of the history of the formation of the canon, the history of the separate books, and the Pauline thought pervading a large number of them will assure us that there is more truth than fiction in the statement.

Time does not permit us to detail the fate of Paul's views of Christ and salvation and the influence he exerted upon the New Testament writings and the Christian Church at large. It would require a volume to do this thoroughly. But we cannot dismiss this subject without calling attention to the remarkable predominance given to Paul's system of theology in his and later generations. We shall, however, limit the subject to his predominance as manifested in New Testament writings.

The Gospel of Jesus as presented in the Synoptics and the



Gospel of St. Paul were not in strict harmony. The promise of the Kingdom of God and the call to do God's will in order to enter into this Kingdom constitute the Gospel of Jesus. In the Gospel of Paul we have this, "The heavenly Son of God who was crucified for our salvation and rose again, and the way to salvation, faith in the grace of God that was manifested in Him." The two are not in harmony and yet must be brought into harmony if Paul's Gospel is to prevail, as it actually did during the sub-Apostolic period.

We have an effort to bring about this harmony in the writings of St. John. The Gospel according to John is the theology of Paul brought to the time and person of Jesus. Barring several themes occasioned by the circumstances of the times in which the Gospel was written, chief of which are, the favorableness of the Christian religion to the gentile world, especially the Greeks, the hostility between Christianity and Judaism, and opposition to the Gnostics, the main theme of the Gospel is the theology of Paul. However, not all of Paul's theology was taken up by the writer of this Gospel. His Justification theory was no longer relative to the demands of the day. The controversy as to the Law was now dead and buried. Such artificial vocabulary as Law, faith; Law, grace; Law, the Spirit was abandoned by John as it had been by the whole Church of his day. Thus a part of Paul's system of thought found an early grave. But this constituted only a minor part. The major theme lived on and was forcibly and clearly expounded by John.

Thoughts common to both Paul and John are: the radical corruption of mankind; the becoming children and heirs of God through Jesus Christ; the atonement by means of His death; salvation by the Spirit; the means of grace, *i. e.*, the Word, faith, the Church, the sacraments; predestination; the new birth; a double resurrection, and other minor points. Thus it can readily be seen that there is a very close harmony between the systems of thought as found in Paul and John. "The whole of the Johanine theology is a natural development



from the Pauline. It is Paulinism modified to meet the needs of the sub-Apostolic age." John and Paul, therefore, are not two theological factors but one. And if we accept that St. John formed his conception of Christianity either originally or directly from Jesus' teaching we should have to refuse St. Paul all originality, for we should leave him scarcely a single independent thought. But it is St. Paul that is original; St. John is not. In St. Paul's letters we look, as through a window, into the factory where these great thoughts flash forth and are developed; in St. John we see the beginning of their transformation and decay. (Wernle, p. 275, Vol. 2.) This forces us to the conclusion that it is the theology of Paul and not of John we find in the Fourth Gospel.

We accept this, being fully aware that its acceptance is by no means universal. But the admissions of even the most conservative students of the Johannean writings go a good way in granting the validity of the Pauline influence. Stevens in his book, the *Theology of the New Testament*, has this sentence, "The Gospel of John is a distillation of the life and teaching of Jesus from the alembic of the Apostle's own mind" (p. 172). He says again, "It is, therefore, less of the nature of a mere report or chronicle than the Synoptic tradition; it is rather a version, a free rendering, a paraphrase of what Christ had imparted to one who had made His teaching so completely his own that it had become fused and blended with his own thought and life." And if one can admit that the author had "fused and blended" the teaching of Jesus "with his own thought and life" it is easy to admit the rest that that personal "thought and life" with which it was blended was Pauline. It is quite possible for one to believe that the writings of John are strongly Pauline; that they refer the teachings of Paul back to Jesus himself; that their main purpose was to bridge the chasm between Jesus and Paul.

Time forbids us to enter into the Pauline influence of other writings such as Acts, the Pastorals, and I. Peter. Suffice it to say that they show traces of Pauline thought to a large



degree, showing that Paul's Gospel held sway during the period of the writing of the later New Testament books.

In conclusion, what, in brief, may be regarded as Paul's part in early Christianity?

We may safely make the following claims for Paul: He understood the spirit and mission of Jesus better than any other Apostle. He saved Christianity by breaking its narrowness and making it presentable to the Greek and Roman world. He gave it its boldness, undaunted faith, and energy in saving the good seed and pulling out weeds in every new ground. He brought into prominence the divinity and preëxistence of Jesus, the redemptive value of His death, and the significance of His resurrection for life and death. He conceived a comforting and lofty idea of the believer's relation to Christ, being that of the life of Christ in the believer. Hitherto none of the other Apostles had anything like it to offer. His conception of the importance and nature of faith was not only new but noble and practical. He created a distinct and separate Christian Church which was always open to receive new impressions. He made baptism and the Lord's Supper into sacraments by making them essential means of acquiring the power of salvation. He impressed his thought and life so thoroughly upon his age that the literature of that period and the generation following him not only reflected but was actually pregnant with Paulinism. While we cannot claim that all of Paul's views were adhered to by the Christian Church throughout the New Testament and early Catholic period, yet we can claim that the predominant thought of that period was Pauline.

In the face of these claims we are obliged to honor the Apostle Paul by declaring him second only to Jesus in giving Christianity its form, character, and life, and second to none in interpreting God's plan of redemption as revealed in and through the person of Jesus.

EASTON, PA.



## VI.

### THE MINISTER AND THE NEW THEOLOGY.

PAUL B. RUPP.

The twentieth century is an age of transition, a time for "the removing of those things that are shaken, that those things which are not shaken may remain." In the spirit of sheer independence—and often for no other reason—men are forsaking the intellectual pathways of their forefathers and are marking out their own channels of thought. The dominant characteristic of the times is the untrammelled spirit of investigation, sometimes biassed by old viewpoints, and then again unhampered by any viewpoint whatsoever—but always dealing with subjects which a century ago were beyond the pale of investigation, and thinking and uttering thoughts which formerly it was not lawful for men to speak.

Philosophy, science and political economy are being refashioned after the mind of the twentieth century. Philosophy, for example, has swung like a pendulum from the pure idealism of Hegel to the all-comprehensive, but irresponsible, monism of Haeckel; while in these latter days philosophic theism is coming into her own through the late work of Henri Bergson.

Science, likewise, has undergone a most marvellous transformation, affecting a vital change in the popular conception of both geology and biology.

During the past century scientific research has given the theory of creation a new content, with the result that the earth has come into an unexpected heritage of millions of years, while man himself has discovered to his surprise that he is not



the instantaneous creation of a divine fiat, but that he is the consummation of a long evolutionary process guided by the hand and mind of the Almighty. The telescope of the astronomer has given us a new vision of the universe, so that we are more than ever led to "think God's thoughts after Him." The scientists seem to have created a new heaven and a new earth which, though the same heaven and earth the prophets saw, are in reality endowed with a new significance, because they have been dignified by the presence of the Almighty.

In political theory there has occurred a like change of thought. Monarchies, which twenty years ago were the most absolute, are today working under liberal constitutions; while democracies, which hitherto have enjoyed the greatest autonomy, are becoming still more democratic. For the modern spirit—which is after all the lineal descendant of the Reformation—has overthrown the false notion that all rulers hold their tenure of office by "divine right," and has given rise to the theory that rulers are at all times subject to the will of the people, who, if so inclined, may recall that official who has abused the authority of his office. We have come to believe that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. Thus the modern theory of government is simply the reaffirmation of Abraham Lincoln's celebrated pronouncement.

But political economy, also, is taking on a new complexion under the penetrating rays of the twentieth century light. Industrial abuses which long existed without any unfavorable comment effectively expressed, are now being banished by indignant popular opinion, fostered by a keener appreciation of the Golden Rule. Corporations which years ago were founded upon traffic rebates or upon "simon-pure" robbery, and oppression of labor, are today compelled to believe, whether they will or no, that all business must be built on the "square deal" before it will be allowed to travel its business road unmolested. A few years ago both capital and labor fought out their battles without regard to a third party in the strife.



Today, both are compelled to take into consideration the welfare of the great consuming public when they enter into their warfare. It is of course true that many conditions still exist which are very far from ideal. The sweat shop, child labor, unsanitary factories, workshops with unprotected machinery, disease-laden tenements are still with us, and claim our attention and ingenuity for their removal. But it is also true that certain other conditions and abuses, which time had almost converted into a necessary evil, are rapidly being eliminated under the pressure of the Christian conscience of the day. The complete purification of economic ills cannot be secured in a moment; for the economic millennium, like the spiritual, will come only as the Golden Rule penetrates the thick shell of commercial selfishness and enables the employer to perceive the soul of a fellow-mortal beneath the calloused skin of his employee.

This scientific, political, and economic ferment is simply an indication that man is coming into his own. Protestantism has left its indelible stamp upon modern life. Ancient theories are being studied by the keen eye of reason as never before; whilst authority, whether in science, politics, religion, or what not, must find a more rational foundation than the mere edict of a school, or of a political boss, or of a synod.

And theology, too, has come in for her full share of criticism. She is no longer able to cast her magic spell over the minds of men, as she once was. Under the subtle influence of the spirit of freedom, many of her cathedrals have lost the power of their "dim religious light." While she has long been regarded as the "Queen of all the sciences" she has been stripped of some of her royalty, and has been compelled to submit—just because she is a science—to the same tests to which all sciences are subject. In this investigation of her nature and claims the new school has declared that much of what she insisted upon as vital to her life, is not vital at all, but is only the sickly appendage of Christian theology, the removal of which will restore her to health, and enable her to assume her former primacy among the sciences.



Now the strictures which theology has suffered at the hands of the modern theologian, or rather the resultant changes of interpretation arising from these strictures, have given birth to the term, "the new theology." And yet we must not forget that much of what is called "new" in theological thought, is not purely a product of the twentieth century but is really the intellectual and spiritual fruit of the preceding centuries. Much as we like to give it a character all its own, "new" is more or less a relative term. Its roots are planted deep within the soil of the ages. The "new theology," therefore, is not a theology with a new content, but is an interpretation of the fundamentals of the Christian religion in the light of modern thought, rather than of medieval philosophy. Its starting point is the trite, but eternal, truth that "God is love"; and the scientific principle that God "works all things for good" through an evolutionary process, which, though a process, is, from the biblical point of view, God Himself working in and through nature for the fulfillment of His own gracious purposes.

Now the chief cause of the furore arising in theological circles with the advent of the "new theology," is not the fact that the "new theology" has attempted to give us something fundamentally different from the accepted theology of the church; but this furore has been caused largely by the fact that modern thought has been bold enough to carry its investigations into the sphere of religion, where above all places we had long believed that theories had been fixed beyond the possibility of a change. We hold a distinctive dislike to change. For minds which have long thought in the same channels cannot easily accommodate themselves to new ones, even though the new are grooved in accordance with the prevailing spirit of the times. And especially is this true in theological thought, where revelation has been regarded as ended with the closing of the canon. The current theological interpretation has been in vogue, in the main, for eight hundred years, and more. Men were loath, therefore, to see a system tampered with which has



become hoary with the age of many centuries. And yet, just as "no man can conceive the changes involved in modern science, and not feel how impossible it is for the men of this generation to occupy precisely the same point of view of not more than fifty years ago," so no one can fully appreciate the principle underlying Protestantism without admitting that it confers upon men entire freedom of conscience and freedom of investigation, which, in the nature of the case, forbids an unchangeable point of view. This bequest of Protestantism must be constantly held in mind in our treatment of theological truth; else Protestantism will have delivered us from the stereotyped theology of Romanism only to bind us in the chains of a no less stereotyped form of her own making. Especially is this true at the present time, for there is prevalent in and outside of the church a feeling which finds it difficult to accept the old dogmatic statements of the church unqualifiedly; at the same time there are many perfectly honest men and women who find themselves utterly estranged from the church because of her insistence upon a dogmatic system which is not only out of harmony with the spirit of the day, but which in fact contradicts some of the most fundamental ethical conceptions of the twentieth century. The most appropriate thing for the theologian to do, then, is not to raise an outcry against the assumed decadence of religious feeling, nor attempt to change the dissenter's conscience, but to try to appreciate the viewpoint of the twentieth century, and bring the dogmatic standards of the church into some kind of harmony with the highest ethical thought of the day. And theology need not be fearful of the result. If her system is based upon the truth it will come out of the ordeal unscathed. If, however, it contains elements which are not able to bear the light of a searching investigation, then criticism will have done theology a service in helping to free her of her most objectionable features. The theologian need not fear the truth, however much it may cause him to revise his pet theories; for his province is not to bolster up a certain theory, but to seek the *truth*, regardless of any



cost to his system. While his spirit and temper, in this search for the truth, may be revolutionary and critical, they must be so only for the sake of reconstruction. And this reconstruction is the aim of the sanest and most temperate of the "new theologians."

Now, everyone believes that the facts which underly science today are the same eternal facts which underlay science two hundred years ago; but the new science has thrown an hundred-fold more light upon these facts than our forefathers would have believed possible. Protoplasm, cells and tissues were as much part and parcel of Adam and Eve as they are of men and women today; but the modern biologist understands their structure and relationships in a way which would have been utterly meaningless to the man of the primitive garden. The planets and comets and nebulae doubtless shed their light upon the stargazers of Chaldea as they do upon the modern astronomer; but the latter knows more about the visible heavens than the wise men ever dreamed of. Likewise the facts of *religion* are just the same today as they were in St. Paul's or Christ's day. Sin and repentance, sorrow and suffering, God and the Holy Spirit, revelation and inspiration, are just as vital to the Christian life today as they were in the palmiest days of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Calvin, Wesley, or Jonathan Edwards. But just because theology is not a fixed quantity of truth, but a progressive science,—which ever widens out its borders with the advent of each new year—we believe that we are in a better position to "think God's thoughts after Him" and to interpret these eternal facts of religion more correctly, than were the medieval schoolmen. The recent centuries have thrown a flood of light upon these thoughts and these facts which the middle ages did not possess. And thus, while the essential facts of religion remain the same, our comprehension of them and our interpretation of them, change with almost every generation. This change of interpretation during the recent generation is embodied in what is called—for the want of a better name—the "new theology."



Old dogmas, old creeds, and confessions of faith have all been examined in recent years in the light of scientific research and modern theological thought; have been critically compared with the teachings of Jesus and the Apostles, "have been put into the crucible of reason and revelation, and the result has been a restatement of the cardinal doctrines of the church"; but the cardinal *facts of religion* have not suffered the loss of one jot or one tittle of their eternal truth. God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, Scriptures, Redemption, are still the primal facts of the Christian faith against which criticism cannot prevail. True, there has been a rearrangement in the order of importance, so that certain doctrines which formerly occupied the front of the stage, have been shifted to the background; but no dogma which is really vital to Christianity has been rejected. On the contrary many ancient truths have been infused with new significance and have been sent on their theological way rejoicing. The Christian doctrine of God, for instance—that "God is love"—had been practically shelved throughout the centuries by another doctrine which is the fruit of medieval speculation and Jewish theology: to wit, that "God is justice"—a view which Anselm so ably, but still so incorrectly, voiced in his celebrated work, *Cur Deus Homo*. Now modern thought demands that all theology shall revolve around the basal thesis that "God is *love*," and that all our dogmas must inevitably square with this fact, or rather with our ripest conception of God's love, before they will find a legitimate place in our theology.

It is just here, in our conception of God, in which the "new theology" differs from the old. In these latter days it is almost a truism to declare that theology must be Christo-centric—that the Christian doctrine of God must square with what *Jesus* taught about God, for the Christ is "the express image of His person and the very effulgence of His glory." (That such has not really been the case is evidenced by the fact that the latest book on the doctrine of God is entitled *The Christian Doctrine of God*, by Clarke, of Colgate.) Until about 1850



the church preached a God who differed so essentially from the Father whom Jesus knew, that He seemed almost repulsive to the man of twentieth century culture. And so patent has been the contrast between the God of Jesus and the God of dogma that the voice of protest finds expression in the mouth of "Waldo" in the *Story of an African Farm*: "I love Jesus Christ, but I hate God."

While it is of course true that theology since the Reformation has affirmed its belief in the love of God—for the principle of "Justification by faith" could not possibly find any other basis—yet during the past 400 years the attribute of justice really usurped the primacy in His nature, with the result that most of our official theology is rooted and grounded in this secondary attribute of justice, rather than in love. Thus, for example, our theory of life, as a brief probation, the substitutionary theory of the atonement, eternal punishment, and others, find their starting point in the idea that God is fundamentally a *just* God, rather than a *loving Father*,—that His justice must be completely satisfied before His love can begin to dispense its healing power.

We said that our theory of life has been revised in keeping with this biblical conception that God is primarily a loving Father. In years gone by, life was regarded as a probation which ends at the grave. If men had hungered and thirsted after righteousness, they forthwith went to heaven; but if evil had been the constant bent of their mind and heart, they were immediately consigned to all the terrors and torments of the damned. The grave put an absolute quietus upon any further chance of reformation. But suppose we interpret life in terms of God's Fatherhood; then our "three score years and ten" will seem to be altogether too brief a period to constitute the foundation for eternity. The human personality, like matter, is subject to development, a development which begins here, but which continues on, even after the personality has passed beyond the grave. Shall we consider death, then, as the end of the probationary period, or only a point, an incident, in the



career of the personality? It is natural for us to believe that God offers men every inducement in His power for them to "repent of their evil ways and live." His grace is boundless, we say. How then can we conceive an end to that grace? Is death such a peculiar and mysterious thing that it is able to work a change in the unchangeable character of God so that His mercy and love are finally exhausted, and hate and anger now form the constituent elements of His character? On the contrary, we sometimes feel that the parables of the "lost coin," the "lost sheep," and the "prodigal son" hold out at least the hope of an unlimited grace to which death can put no end. In other words we are inclined to think that a second probation—and here we are of course entering the field of pure speculation, not strict theology—or rather an eternal opportunity for repentance and salvation, are more in line with the spirit of scripture and the divine Fatherhood, than the teaching that death forever ends man's chances of reformation. Of course we realize that character has the tendency to become fixed as the individual grows older, so that the chronic reprobate would seem to have forfeited all chances of any further hope, as far as his salvation is concerned. And yet we have evidences of a new birth even after the individual had gone down to what we believed was the lowest depth of degradation. Harold Begbie plainly illustrates the possibility of reformation in the life of the most hardened character, in his fascinating book, *Twice-born Men*. And the question which naturally arises is concerned with the period of time during which reformation is possible. There is a statement in 1 Peter 3:18–20 which seems to bear out the argument that probation extends even beyond the grave. St. Peter declares that Christ was "put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit; in which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison, who aforetime were disobedient, when the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." Now the "spirits in prison" were those who died unconverted in the days of Noah, and were then in Gehenna. Then arises the question: Why should



Christ preach the Gospel, or glad tidings, to the "spirits in prison" if there was not the possibility for them to repent and be saved? If they were hopelessly doomed, then Christ's preaching to them was mere mockery. In the next paragraph, 4:6, St. Peter says "unto this end was the Gospel preached even unto the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." It is only allegorical exegesis which is able to make this mean anything else than that God gave the depraved contemporaries of Noah a second chance to repent and be saved. This does not, of course, imply that they embraced the opportunity, but that they were given the chance to do so. And this is not Universalism; it is simply the strong hope which results from a devout faith in the mercy and goodness of the divine Father.

At this point we must not fail to note the difference between those who die in the darkness of paganism and those who "breathe their last" amidst the culture and spiritual opportunities of a Christian civilization. We can hardly believe that God consigns to perdition those who are of the former class. The old missionary dynamic, that we must save from the fires of hell as many heathen as we can snatch away before they die, has lost its meaning for the twentieth century. We simply cannot refrain from believing that God will give them another chance. But will He give the second class a like chance? That is another question. We hope so. And beyond that we cannot dogmatize.

But this view of an unlimited probation will of necessity affect a corresponding change in our conception of punishment. Our theory of eternal punishment rests upon the theory of life as a limited probation, and upon the legal procedure of the Middle Ages. The unrepentant sinner continually resists God's laws and constantly violates His justice. The sinner's case calls for necessary punishment. But in the Middle Ages crime was judged according to the *rank of the person against whom the crime was committed*. Stealing from the nobility was of more serious consequence, and was punished more



severely, than was the same crime committed against the person of a peasant. Now this idea carried over into theology—as it was by Anselm—declared that a sin against God calls for eternal punishment, because it is committed against an infinite and eternal person. But suppose we shift the emphasis from justice to love, and totally eliminate the medieval view of crime—as our common law has done centuries ago—for we believe that stealing is stealing, whether from king or peasant—then eternal punishment will “go by the board,” or at least will be modified in its scope, while punishment *per se* will be compelled to find a new basis. And this, we believe, will be God’s loving purpose to purify the human will by the power of His infinite Spirit. Reformation of the sinner will then be the keynote of punishment while all that will remain of eternal punishment will rest, not upon God’s inflexible wrath or inviolate justice, but upon man’s will. Punishment will last just as long as man wills to sin, and no longer. If Jesus was on theologically safe ground when he abrogated the ancient teaching that “an eye must be exchanged for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,” and in place of a *quid pro quo* substituted the law of love—“love your enemies”—then we are on just as safe ground when we declare that that is the course which God Himself pursues in His treatment of the individual sinner. Thus we believe that while he punishes all wrongdoing, He does so, not because He hates, but because He loves the sinner, and desires to cleanse him of his sin. Probation will be therefore lengthened by the divine love. Otherwise the Almighty would be a vindictive God of wrath—just what revelation says He is not—whose patience is finally exhausted by a sin so serious and by a character so evil that the only possible remedy is a punishment which will last forever. But if that is the case then everlasting sin must be coincident with eternal punishment, so that, side by side with the kingdom of the good, there must of necessity be an eternal kingdom of evil. But this constitutes a bald dualism in theological science which the churchman dare not, in the nature of the case, grant.



However, in connection with our revised theory of life and punishment, we are compelled in the next place to modify our interpretation of the Atonement. The official theory, that the death of Jesus was a *substituted punishment* for the sins of man, is the logical deduction from the two preceding theories. According to Anselm, who is the father of the current view, man committed an infinite sin in that he sinned against God who is an infinite being. This sin, as we stated above, calls for an infinite or an eternal punishment. But since man is a finite being and unable therefore to bear such punishment (though we are not able to see just how a finite being can commit an infinite sin), he is unable to render to God what is His due. So Jesus, the theanthropic man, bears this punishment in man's stead.

Now it seems that our ideas of the character and nature of God are altogether anthropomorphic; we attribute to Him the thoughts and feelings which the saintliest men reveal. Our idea of his love is arrived at by our perception of the pure and self-sacrificing love of any father for his children. His justice we have conceived from our courts of law, only infinitely higher and absolutely impartial; and we believe that we dare not impute to Him any quality or characteristic which would not be consistent with the highest conceivable type of ethical character. He must be at *least* as loving and as just as the best *men* would be. And yet here is a theory of the Atonement which contradicts even the imperfect conceptions of human love and human justice. We are imputing to the most high God thoughts and feelings of which not even demi-gods would be guilty, for God would be neither a just Ruler nor a loving Father, were He to punish the innocent in place of the guilty. Not even our common law, imperfect as it is, would for a moment countenance such a procedure. The theory of a substitutionary atonement, or substitutionary punishment, involves the imputation of man's sin and guilt to the Christ, and thus gives him a character which revelation affirms he did not possess. Punishment presupposes a previous transgression.



But Jesus was without sin. Scripture is plain on that point. How then could he in justice be called upon to bear man's punishment?—for we believe that the *guilty* alone must suffer the penalty for his transgression. Any other method of punishment would do violence to our highest moral concepts. In our theological thinking we must constantly guard against permitting a syllogism to end in a conclusion which contradicts the deepest feelings of the heart. Otherwise, we shall simply repeat the sad experience of John Calvin, whose heart compelled him to confess that his pet theory of predestination was only a "horrible decree"—though syllogistically sound. John Calvin was a Christian in spite of his theology. When our theories end in a conclusion at which our conscience and hearts revolt, then, in order to avoid the experience of Calvin, we must be willing to go back to the beginning of the theory and revise our premises, if necessary. This the "new theology" attempts to do with the substitutionary theory of the Atonement; and in the place of justice it would substitute *love*; for the norm of any theory of the Atonement must inevitably be that which John gives us in 3:16, and which he declares is the supreme motive which prompted the sacrifice.

Now it must be remembered that the "new theology" does not reject the *fact* of the Atonement; it simply rejects the current interpretation. But at the same time it agrees with Dean Farrar that "any attempt to explain the *exact* nature and method of the transcendantly Divine Compassion in the life and suffering of Christ is a futile endeavor to be wise above what is written; to translate the language of emotion into the rigidity of a syllogism, and of rapturous thanksgiving into rigid scholasticism." For the cross of Christ will ever be a mystery to the Christian and a stumbling block to the Jew.

And yet with our sense of the utter inadequacy of language to express the full significance of the atonement the "new theology" dares to lay stress upon the following points, as expressing, at least in some degree, the intent and purpose of the divine transaction: (1) Jesus' *whole life, including the*



*incarnation, the resurrection and the ascension* must find a place in any theory of the atonement which the church attempts to teach. Not only his *death*, as sufficient to take away sin—and this theory of substitution stresses his death to the neglect of all other features of his life—but his *life* and his *teaching* must form an essential part of the theory. For the fact of the atonement began when he entered into humanity in the incarnation, culminated in his death on the cross and reached its final completion in the resurrection and the ascension. (2) Christ's life was the presentation of the ideal life. He gave us a new ethic, which concerns itself with the will, as well as with the deed. And Jesus lived his ethics, the chief element of which is personal immolation on the altar of humanity, complete self-sacrifice for humankind's welfare. (3) The sacrifice of Christ was not substituted punishment, but vicarious sacrifice, and an actual giving of divine life to men; through faith in him, as our personal Saviour, we enter into a mystical union with him, and assimilate his life and character, so that through him the divine life flows into us and his nature becomes our nature. This is essentially the substance of St. Paul's statement that through faith in him we receive the spirit of "adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father."

The results of the "new theology" are most patent in its treatment of the Scriptures upon which it has thrown its clearest light. And it is also just here where it has received its bitterest opposition. Men have long regarded the Bible as absolutely infallible in all departments of knowledge. Its deliverances upon history were unassailable, even though archeology and reason disclosed facts fundamentally different from those of tradition. Its pronouncements upon science were stamped with the weight of scientific authority, so that a mighty tempest took place a generation or more ago when Charles Darwin published his celebrated book *The Origin of Species Through Natural Selection*. For ages every part of it was considered equally inerrant, just because its inspiration was deemed like that of the business man who dictates to his



stenographer seated at his elbow. Every part was placed on the same level as of equal weight and authority. The wars of extermination and the murder of defenceless women and children, in Deut. and Judges, the Imprecatory Psalms, the deceits and conceits of the patriarchs, were all regarded as of equal importance, for edification, with the Sermon on the Mount, or the 13th chapter of I Cor. When the modern spirit of investigation, therefore, attempted to approach the scriptures from its second standpoint that "God works all things for good" in a progressive way, and affirmed that the Bible is an intensely human document which shows the progressive manner in which God revealed Himself to men in harmony with their various spiritual capacities, then the new school was charged with destroying the Bible and breaking every commandment in the decalogue. Formerly men regarded both the *message* of revelation and the *written record* by which that message has been transmitted, as infallible in every thought and word and deed. But in the light of recent scientific and historical criticism, the message has been separated from its human form of expression, so that we today are in a better position to understand the theme of divine revelation than were the men of the reformation period; while doubtless what we see and know today only in part will be more fully comprehended by the theologian of the 30th century A. D.

"As the child cannot understand calculus until it has studied the simple elements of mathematics, and thus is gradually brought up to the higher branches as its mind develops, so the knowledge of God could only be given to men gradually, as their religious and thinking faculties were developed to receive such knowledge." This development the "new theology" finds clearly wrought out in the Bible, and accordingly places the various books in a comparative scale of inspiration and importance. It regards the Christ as naturally the complete and final revelation of God, and tests all preceding revelation by His teaching and mind. While we do not find recorded every word and deed which the Christ spoke and did,



we yet believe that the gospel writers have been more or less faithful in their delineation of Christ's character and mind. Now Jesus felt perfectly free to revise the Mosaic code in a manner consistent with *his* knowledge of God's ways and will. And in doing so he has bequeathed us the right to revise, not the code, but both our interpretation of his person (for theology in its strictest sense is after all only an interpretation of God and his ways), and of God's method of revelation and its message. Christianity is what Christ taught. And if we find Moses or David or Isaiah or the modern ecclesiastic teaching something different, then we must feel free to prove their preachments, and to test their orthodoxy, by the Christ's. In rejecting the mechanical-stenographic theory of inspiration, and in regarding the scriptures from the evolutionary standpoint, as the imperfect (because human) record of the progressive manner in which God has revealed Himself and His love to men, the "new theology" has really given us a more intelligent conception of the origin and purpose of the scriptures, and uncovered more of their beauties, than men had hitherto believed possible. Affirming that scripture concerns itself entirely with the presentation of *religious and spiritual truth*, rather than with historical and scientific fact, modern theological thought forever declares a truce with science, and henceforth requests the latter to become an ally in the quest for truth. In the spirit of this alliance, science declares that the world came into existence through an evolutionary process, while theology affirms that it was her God who *initiated, and worked through*, the process. And thus has modern thought removed the unscientific stumbling block in the first chapter of Genesis, and converted enemies into friends. It has rescued the Song of Songs from its position as an allegory of Christ and His church, more or less awkward, and presents it to us as "the glorification of a pure and loyal human love, in a drama of most wondrous beauty." It has removed the large question mark which has always accompanied the Book of Job, and declares that Job is one of the finest dramatic poems ever



penned by the hand of man—a poem which enters into the deeps of the most intensely human religious experience. It has converted the Book of Jonah into a divine satire against that hardness of heart which closed the gates of heaven against any people but Jews. The miraculous element of the story is passed over as mere oriental dress, while its broad universality is placed side by side with that of the Christ. As a caustic and trenchant poem upon narrowminded bigotry—which Israel surely needed 25 centuries ago—the Book of Jonah is endowed with more real point than it possessed when it went under the *nom de plume* of authentic history. Historical criticism has removed many a dark shadow which certain Old Testament portions have cast on the character of the Almighty, and has declared that God is what Jesus shows Him to be: a God of love and grace and mercy. It has done away with the idea that everything in the Old Testament is simply a foreshadowing of the twentieth century church and her doctrine, and instead has given us a most illuminating picture of the days in which men were seeking a saviour from sin and a guide unto holiness. It has not, of course, settled every question which naturally arises from the close study of any literature—such as the authorship of the Pentateuch, or of Job, or Daniel, or Hebrews, or where Cain secured his wife, but it has given us at least a more ethical conception of God and a more scientific insight into His methods, than the church formerly possessed.

It is true that many members of the so-called new school are not at all agreed upon all points of exegesis, nor even upon all the theories advanced by the new school, but complete agreement we can never hope to find in any human organization. While this book of revelation has been ushered into the sphere of criticism, it has not suffered the loss of a single book nor a single page. It occupies the same exalted position and merits the same unbiased study as ever. It needs no defense, for it can stand on its own feet. It has indeed been cleared of certain false ideas which men read into the book, but the Bible



itself remains in all its mystery and power. It is to be expected that men will differ in their interpretation of a fact throughout the ages, but the fact itself remains, regardless of these differences in interpretation. And while modern criticism may have gone too far in some of its conclusions, and therefore may have seemed to have destroyed the faith of those whose faith in the first place rested on a very insecure foundation, it has in fact destroyed nothing which is really fundamental in Christianity. If anything, its strictures have created a wider interest in, and a more scientific study of, the groundwork of the Christian religion than had obtained in any period of the church's history, prior to, or since the Reformation. God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Atonement, and Sin remain the eternal facts with which man must deal in the course of his religious life; and while our knowledge of, and interpretation of, these facts change with the fuller intellectual and spiritual revelation of the ages, yet from these facts man cannot escape. He must worship a God; a Saviour his deepest nature calls for; while a divine Spirit—however men differently understand His operation—still acts as the inspirational power for righteousness. Despite the subtle assaults of criticism human life remains unmovable amidst all its divine relationships.

These then are a few of the conclusions to which the "new theology" has come in the course of its investigations. And what shall be the attitude of the modern minister toward these conclusions, or toward any of the problems which modern thought will necessarily raise. It is only trite to declare that the minister who wishes to satisfy the needs of his people must enter into their innermost life. He must interest himself in what interests them. Not only the dangerous conditions under which they earn their livelihood, but also the conditions under which their mental or their spiritual powers are dwarfed or developed, must cause grave concern to the minister who feels his responsibility. All public questions are in the last analysis moral questions, and therefore demand the minister's atten-



tion. Every new political theory, every new social propaganda, and every new philosophical idea calls for his unbiased study,—not, however, because they are *new*, but because at the heart of them there is a moral principle involved, to which the minister dare not prove indifferent, under pain of forfeiting his privilege of spiritual leadership. Even such a grossly secular idea as the tariff involves the moral (or shall we say immoral?) principle of splitting up the universal brotherhood into numberless groups who are all at commercial enmity with one another. The economic and social ills—which socialism thinks she has the monopoly of righting—call for the judgment of the pulpit today, just as surely as these same ills, under different forms, called down upon their heads the condemnation of the church throughout the ages. The minister dare not be too busy, therefore, to interest himself in politics.

In like manner the modern minister must reckon with every new theological idea. His mind must be open to new truth, but he must at the same time be guided and guarded by St. Paul's theory of mental and spiritual growth: "Prove all things, but hold fast to that which is good."

But how can the minister, occupied as he is, by his complicated clerical life, with its constant demands upon his time and energy for pastoral visitation, eternal sermonizing, organization leadership, social functions, and even financial management—how can the modern minister attempt to "prove all things"? How can he in his limited time penetrate to the heart of modern problems and separate the truth from the half truth, or from the downright falsehood? In many cases no attempt is made. His theology has frequently crystallized with his graduation thesis, and thereafter he gives himself up to the routine of his pastoral office. He thinks he has no time for systematic study, and in most instances his sermonic themes, after a few years, lose their legitimate theological basis and degenerate into mere platitudes or exhortations.

But with most ministers there is an honest attempt to face



these problems and to solve them in accordance with present knowledge. True, the average pastor has neither the time nor the resources at his command to initiate an original research into all the subtle points of theology or historical criticism. But he can at least, and the spirit of St. Paul bids him to keep in touch with modern thought by digesting the conclusions of scholars whose whole time is given to their respective researches. In fact the minister cannot really escape from the influences which modern thought sets in motion. And whether he will or no, his thinking is affected either conservatively by the duel of the new with the old, or radically by the general spirit of satisfaction which pervades the air when modern thought reaches a conclusion more ethical than that previously held. But in this all-pervasive theological ferment the busy pastor has one standard by which he can judge the new theory: *the mind of Jesus, as he has come to know that mind by his own personal experience and reason, tempered, of course, by the universal experience and consciousness of the church.* If he is like the man who constantly takes from his treasuries things new and old, he will permit neither tradition to warp his judgment, nor other men to do his thinking for him. He will bring all things to the test of both his mind and heart, of revelation and experience, and then will translate the theory in terms of *life as he knows it.* He will not cut loose from the old, simply because it is old, nor will he, without more thought, accept the new, simply because it is new—for neither old age nor youth is a genuine test of truth—but he will prove all things, and then hold fast to that which approves itself to his mind and heart and to the ripest experience of the church.

But what influence will this personal testing of truth have upon his preaching? Will his utterances be like those sensation-mongers who are swayed by every wind of doctrine which chances to blow around the theological corners? On the contrary his pulpit ministry will reveal a deeper earnestness and thoughtfulness than ever, just because he brings all theories



and doctrines to the test of human experience. His themes will still ring with the tone of authority, not however with the external authority of tradition, or councils, or synods, but with the internal authority of a self-authenticated truth which only a prophet possesses. For he will believe not upon the word of another, as did the Samaritans of old, but he will believe because he has seen and heard for himself, and knows that these things are true. His preaching will be dominated by a positive and constructive note, because the truth has passed through the crucible of his heart and been tested by his own life. Since he is an eager learner of truth he has taken to heart St. Paul's advice "that he should take heed lest there should be any one who maketh spoil of you through his philosophy and vain deceit . . . and not after the manner of Christ."

In the course of his study he will sometimes arrive at conclusions quite contrary to the official confessions of his church; and then what is he to do? Shall he say in his public addresses that he no longer believes thus and so, and then attempt by sledge-hammer blows to compel his people to arrive at the same conclusions, and to make them their personal convictions also? Should he attempt with intellectual arrogance to array his knowledge against that of the whole theological world, or against the saintliest experience of the ages? More churches have been rent in twain by such consummate folly as this than by all the petty strife and quarrels which churches seem to be heir to. For preaching which concerns itself entirely with doubts and disbeliefs can bring only confusion and discord in its train. Peace comes only through harmony of man with man. Religious peace can come only through complete harmony of constructive preaching with positive truth. But it must be remembered, at this point, that *fundamental* truths never disrupt, but edify. It is only an over-emphasis upon non-essentials in theology which causes the trouble. Hence when a minister, in whose hands lies the responsibility for the spiritual culture of his people, reaches a conclusion upon a



non-essential which is not in harmony with the accepted theology of his communion, it will prove the part of wisdom not to bring his new conclusion into the pulpit, for the pulpit is no place for the expression of mere negations. And this attitude is not the essence of cowardice, but of real wisdom; for no man's heart is comforted, nor his mind exalted, by hearing his minister deny the possibility of the Virgin Birth, for instance; on the other hand, neither will purity of life nor soundness of character be induced by a public affirmation of such a dogma, for non-essentials have not the power to generate Christian character, and theology no longer claims that Christianity stands or falls with the dogma of the Virgin Birth. A physician could, with just as much propriety, expect to cure a case of mental derangement by expressing to his patient his doubt concerning the efficacy of the Pasteur treatment for hydrophobia, as could the minister expect to heal the broken-hearted and comfort the sorrowing by a dissertation upon the veracity of St. Luke's prologue, or by his public denial of the possibility of all miracles. The "new theology," as previously stated, makes Jesus and his teaching the center and the test of its truths; and the minister who desires to be true to both, will preach Jesus' gospel, rather than a particular theory of his birth or of his atonement. And if he remains true to the gospel he will still have a whole thesaurus of material to afford him sermonic themes.

Doubtless much of the indifference of the virile manhood of the age towards the church, and much of the opposition in recent years to the results of biblical criticism, have come in large part from bad preaching; that is, from preaching upon themes which are not in fact the legitimate subject-matter of preaching. When Jesus told his disciples to go out into the world and make converts to his kingdom, he bade them preach the gospel of the kingdom of God; he said nothing as to the reasonableness of dogma, nothing about "eternal damnation," or "baptism by immersion," or "double predestination," or a "substitutionary atonement," or salvation through a political



party. Nor can the modern disciple be wiser than his master. True, sermons upon such themes may attract the "itching ear" crowd for a while; but the time will inevitably come when such preaching will no longer satisfy, because it lacks the pith and point of the gospel of redemption for which alone humanity is hungry. But he will be the wise and faithful minister, who, believing that the "gospel is still the power of God unto salvation," banishes from his pulpit his doubts and metaphysical speculations or political harangues, and makes it the one place in our intensely feverish society where men may still hear the voice of God speaking to them. For that is really what humanity in all ages craves for—the comfort of the gospel and the consolation of the Heavenly Father's love. As long as men continue to preach their positive belief in the power of the gospel to bring the prodigals back into harmonious relationship with their Father, their voices will penetrate into the innermost recesses of their hearer's hearts, whilst their message will ring with all the authority of the ancient prophets. Speculation and criticism are legitimate in their proper sphere, but that sphere is not the pulpit; for from the pulpit men desire to hear something positive about God's love and mercy, and not man's doubts or intellectual perversity. The minister must continue to think and to read in order to magnify his office, but only the constructive results of his thinking and reading dare he present from the pulpit; and, moreover, results which smack more of the Sermon on the Mount and the Great Commandment, than of Nicæa or Chalcedon. St. Paul won more converts to righteousness when he preached the simple message of the cross of Jesus, than when he attempted, in some degree at least, to cater to the desires, rather than the needs of his hearers, as he did at Athens. The modern minister, likewise, must be what his name implies, the minister of the *gospel*, and not a minister of philosophy and speculation and politics. He must apply his gospel to modern conditions, it is true, else it will return unto the Lord void. Whilst he *may* know what the people of Abraham's day were thinking and



doing, he *must* know what the people of today are thinking and doing, in order that his preaching may find a point of contact with the present. And as he comes to know the spiritual needs of his people, as he enters into their very life, so that he is able to rejoice in their joy, and comfort them in their sorrow, and help bear their burdens, will his pulpit ministrations be purged of doubts and skepticism, and pulsate with the fullness of God's revelation and spiritual power which alone can give men life.

McKEESPORT, PA.



## VII.

### CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY.

A. V. HIESTER.

To complete the survey of the utopias of the first half of the nineteenth century, which is rich in ideal schemes of social regeneration beyond any other period of equal extent in the history of the race, and which forms the nexus in the history of social thought between the more violent and radical schemes born of the French Revolution and the scientific socialism of the latter half of the nineteenth century, it remains yet to make brief reference to five names: three Frenchmen, Cabet, Blanc and Proudhon; an Englishman, Owen; and a German, Weitling.

Étienne Cabet (1788–1856) is one of the few utopians who were given the opportunity of reducing their social schemes to actual practice. Though of humble origin, he succeeded in securing an excellent general education which he supplemented by legal and medical studies. An agitator by temperament he took an active part in the Revolution of 1830, and obtained under the government of Louis Philippe the appointment of attorney-general in Corsica. From this position, because of his bitter attacks upon the government, he was summarily dismissed after a brief service. Returning to France he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1831, in which position he continued his attacks upon the government begun in Corsica. The government now resorted to more drastic measures, and condemned him to two years' imprisonment or five years' exile. Cabet chose the latter alternative and went to Brussels. But the Belgian government, fearing possible complications with a powerful neighbor, promptly expelled



him. Then he went to England where he became acquainted with Robert Owen. In England, too, he read More's *Utopia* which completely fascinated him. Under the joint influence of these two, the sixteenth-century social dreamer and the nineteenth-century practical philanthropist, Cabet became a convert to communism.

Returning to France at the close of his period of exile in 1839, Cabet published the following year two important works. The first was a fiercely democratic history of the Revolution of 1789—*Histoire de la Revolution de 1789*—which was written along the same lines and animated by the same bitter spirit as his earlier *Histoire de la Revolution de 1830*. The other was a philosophical and social romance which he called *Voyage en Icarie*. These two works not only quickly won the favor of the more radical class of workingmen of Paris, but together with his journal, *Le Populaire*, and his numerous addresses they attracted the attention and won the adherence of multitudes throughout France, as well as in Switzerland, Spain, Germany, England and other countries. Persecution on the part of Church and State had the effect only of giving still greater vogue to his views.

The *Voyage en Icarie* is a bulky volume of five or six hundred pages, whose popularity is attested by the fact that it passed through many editions. While it has little originality, being little more than an echo, greatly elaborated to be sure, of More's *Utopia*, it is noteworthy because it led to several attempts to establish communism in the New World. It is a description of a previously unknown country, "a second Promised Land, an Eden, an Elysium, a new terrestrial Paradise," not quite so large as England or France, but fully as populous, and much more blessed. The author represents himself as having met in London one Lord William Carisdall, who tells him of this wonder land of Icaria, which he had discovered in the course of his travels, and from whose journal the *Voyage en Icarie* is made up.

In this romance Cabet proposes a communistic organiza-



tion of society, not merely as one among others, but as the only practicable solution of all social problems. At the same time he frankly recognizes that because of the defects of human nature his scheme is not immediately practicable. He therefore allows a transitional period of fifty years, in which the new order of things is to be reached by gradual approaches. To accomplish this transition with the least shock to existing social arrangements he proposes certain intermediary measures: a progressive tax on wealth; the exemption of the poor and all necessities of life from taxation; the gradual disbanding of the army and its employment on public works until it can be disbanded; the establishment of a minimum wage; the immediate expenditure of 500,000,000 francs by the government to provide work and homes for the poor; and an annual expenditure of 100,000,000 francs to educate the rising generation in the principles of communism and encourage marriages among the working classes. Along with these measures of legislation Cabet advocates an active propaganda to convert the world to communism.

At the expiration of the fifty years the Icarian state is to be formally established. In it all industry is managed by the government. All are required to labor in common workshops, men from eighteen to sixty five years of age, and women from seventeen to fifty. The length of the working day for men is seven hours in summer and five in winter; for women four throughout the year. As a general thing young people are free to choose their occupations. The only qualification to this appears when there is a disproportionate number of applicants for any particular kind of work. In such cases competitive examinations determine the selection; and the unsuccessful ones are required to make another choice. But this limitation of industrial freedom is less serious than might be supposed. For dirty and disagreeable work will be performed by machinery. Hence all work will be agreeable, and no one will be lazy. Such a system of industry will insure an abundance of products with a minimum of effort. But the scheme



contemplates something more than a crass materialism. Elegance and beauty are to be encouraged, while the short working day will afford abundant leisure for the enjoyment of works of art and nature. And on the other hand, the principle of equality in distribution, combined with efficiency in production, will make possible to all the enjoyment of every comfort, as well as many luxuries.

As in all communistic schemes uniformity is enforced wherever possible. Houses, farms, shops, villages, communes and provinces are monotonously alike. There is also a uniform dress, with variations for age and sex, and a certain latitude with respect to color.

Woman is given an honorable position. Marriage is encouraged and held sacred. Voluntary celibacy is condemned; concubinage forbidden. Cabet is much concerned for the integrity of the family. Less logical than Plato he imagines that property can be abolished and the family preserved. But he violates his own principle when he provides that the education of the child, which up to the age of five is entrusted absolutely to the mother, is after that age assumed by the state in order that all may be properly indoctrinated in the principles of communism. Cabet's views with respect to marriage and the family won for him a large body of sympathizers among the women of Paris, who encouraged him with kind words and floral gifts.

The government is republican in form. On theoretical grounds alone Cabet prefers a pure democracy, but owing to the large scale on which he conceived his scheme, and to which he believed it would speedily attain if once tried, he is constrained to adopt the principle of representation. So far, however, as circumstances permit, direct legislation is to be employed. But whatever its ultimate form with respect to the question of representative or direct democracy, it will be absolute. Its central dominating principle is equality rather than liberty. In this Cabet is characteristically French. Intellectual freedom will be no more possible than industrial or



political liberty. Science and literature will be encouraged, but only under state auspices. While any one may write books to his heart's content in his moments of leisure, he may not publish anything without official authorization. No journal may be published under private auspices. Only one journal is permitted, and that is official in character.

Cabet differs from most communists in his attitude towards religion. He not only bases his communistic views on what he conceives to have been the character of primitive Christianity, but he wrote a number of books in which he attempts to prove an intimate connection between Christianity and communism. One of these has for its title the words, *Le vrai Christianisme suivant Jesus Christ*, and for its conclusion the sentiment, "Le communisme c'est le christianisme." But despite the pronounced religious tone which characterizes all his writings, Cabet's ideal society is distinctively secular in character.

Louis Blanc (1813-1882), journalist, author and politician, was the least utopian of utopians, and may be said to form the connecting link between utopian and scientific socialism, between the older socialism, which was superstitious and fantastical, and the newer socialism, which is sceptical and practical. In comparison with St. Simon and Fourier he is an eminently practical reformer. He relates his scheme of social renovation to the real objective world, whereas they live and think in an imaginary universe. He recognizes, as they do not, the intimate connection between political and social forces. While they are social reformers only, appealing to religious fervor, brotherly love, self-interest and passionate attraction, and ignoring the existing political machinery as a means of establishing and maintaining a better social order, he denies the possibility of any permanent or adequate reform of society save through the power of the state. The reason why there can be no social reform apart from political agencies lies in the inherent difficulty of emancipating the masses and fitting them for the new order of things. So great is this difficulty that it requires, according to Blanc, nothing less



than the whole force of the state to surmount it. The working classes lack, and have lacked since the Industrial Revolution, the instruments of production. These the state must provide. The working classes are ignorant. The state must educate them. The working classes lack initiative and foresight. The state must organize them into industrial associations, which will ultimately become self-governing and gradually supersede the individual entrepreneur and private capitalist. But before the state can be made able and willing to do this it must be democratized. This demand for a democratic organization of the state in order to a reconstruction of society is one of the most distinctive features of Blanc's scheme.

With his keen practical insight into things Blanc was quick to recognize the defects in the schemes of contemporary social reformers. He saw that St. Simon's scheme would destroy individual liberty, even if it did not crush the state with its multitudinous responsibilities. On the other hand, Fourier's scheme stood self-condemned because it ignored the principle of large-scale production so characteristic of modern industry. Avoiding the intolerable despotism of the one, and the economic impossibility of the other, Blanc offers in his *Organization du Travail*, published in 1840, a full and final solution of the problems of society. Because of its brilliant style, its fervid eloquence, and its democratic spirit, the work enjoyed a wide popularity, passing through no less than ten editions in as many years. This was followed by a number of valuable historical works, in which are reflected more or less clearly Blanc's social views. Three are of the first importance. The first is the *Histoire de Dix Ans*, which covers the decade from 1830 to 1840, and which was completed in 1844 in sixteen volumes. This is not only the most accurate and reliable account of the first half of the reign of Louis Philippe extant, but it exercised a powerful influence upon French contemporary thought and action. It is not too much to say that by holding up to the gaze of the French nation the meanness, narrowness and pettiness of his reign it did more than any



other single thing to bring about the overthrow of Louis Philippe and the establishment of the Second Republic. The other two historical works written by Blanc are the *Histoire de la Revolution Française*, completed in 1862 in twelve volumes; and the *Historie de la Revolution de 1848*, completed in 1870 in two volumes.

Like most works representative of modern socialism, the *Organization du Travail* is largely made up of denunciations of existing social conditions, in so far at least as they are incompatible with Blanc's social philosophy. The starting point of that philosophy he finds in the purpose of human existence which is defined by the two words, happiness and development. By development he means the perfection of personality, the largest mental, moral and physical growth. Happiness and development determine for each one his wants and needs; and any organization of society to be acceptable or tolerable must make both possible for every single human being.

When Blanc comes to inquire whether the present social order is such as to secure for each one the satisfaction of all his needs, he finds as the answer to his inquiry a decided No. The controlling principle of modern society, he declares, is competition which means a war of all against all. The result is want and misery, undeveloped faculties and unfulfilled destinies. The only remedy for this is a new organization of society, which, abandoning individualism, private property and private competition, the fundamentals of existing society, will be based on fraternity as its all-controlling principle. "Fraternity" says Blanc, "means that we are all common members of one great family; that society, the work of man, ought to be organized on the model of the human body, the work of God; and found the power of governing upon persuasion, upon the voluntary consent of the hearts of the governed."

The abolition of misery through fraternity does not mean a crass materialism, against which Blanc, like Cabet, repeatedly protests. It implies, on the contrary, the most exalted spiritu-



alism, inasmuch as misery cramps the intellect by confining education within narrow limits, sacrifices personal dignity, makes slaves, and engenders crime. To abolish misery, then, is not only a moral duty, but a religious obligation which every man owes to God.

Having determined to his satisfaction the end of society, which is to abolish misery and secure to each one happiness and development, Blanc addresses himself to the means of attaining that end, and proposes as the sovereign remedy for the ills of society the establishment by the state of social workshops, *ateliers sociaux*, which when once established will gradually replace individual *ateliers*. Blanc recognizes, as Fourier does not, the significance and necessity of large-scale production. But large-scale production means for him only large capital, not the large capitalist. It is only from the latter, he contends, that the evils of competition have proceeded.

These social workshops are to be inaugurated by the state, which will advance the necessary capital without interest, enact laws for their government, and for the first year regulate the "hierarchy of functions" by assigning to each one his place in the industrial order. But once set in motion, the scheme will maintain itself by its own inherent energy and power of direction. It will be self-supporting, self-acting, self-directing and self-extending. In each industry the workers will choose their own directors and managers, determine the division of the profits, make good the losses, and provide for the growth and extension of the system. After the initial year the role of the government will be limited to the regulation of the relations between the various industries. In its ultimate form, therefore, the scheme is based on the principle of voluntary coöperation, by virtue of which the intolerable tyranny inseparable from St. Simon's scheme and the misery and anarchy born of the competitive system are alike avoided.

The scheme, once inaugurated through the establishment of a number of coöperative associations, with the aid of the state, in each of the principal fields of industry, will in the course of



time become universal. For owing to certain manifest advantages the public *atelier* will more than hold its own in competition with the private shop, and in a comparatively short time drive the private capitalist out of business. One of these advantages is to be found in the fact that the major part of the capital of the social workshop will be provided gratuitously by the state, which will repay the loans contracted for this purpose, and meet the interest charge upon them, from a general tax supplemented by revenues derived from the management of railroads, mines, insurance, banking and other public undertakings. By means of this device the private capitalist is in effect required to assist in forging the weapons which are to be used against himself in the industrial struggle. That part of the capital of the social workshops which is not furnished by the state will be obtained, first, from the net profits, and secondly, from private capitalists, who may be persuaded or coerced into joining these associations, and who will be allowed the customary rate of interest on such capital as they may bring with them.

A second advantage accruing to the social workshop is its large-scale system of production combined with the spirit of fraternity, which is the controlling principle of the whole system, and which Blanc regards as the most powerful of all stimuli to industrial activity. A third advantage follows from the combining of all the social workshops in a vast federation, which is in effect a mutual insurance company, and by virtue of which the losses of one will be made good from the profits of others.

Because of these advantages the private capitalist will find himself less and less able to meet the competition of the social workshop. And furthermore, with the growth of the system and the consequent increase of collective capital, his opportunities for placing his own capital will suffer material diminution. It is important, however, to note that there will be no sudden ruin for the private capitalist; only a slow but sure defeat.



With the elimination of the private capitalist in a particular industry all competition will cease within that industry. This solidarity of interest among the workers of one industry will be followed ultimately by a similar solidarity of interest among the workers in all fields of industry. Thus, through the progressive operation of the principle of competition, competition will gradually cease everywhere. And with the complete disappearance of competition the socialist state will have been born. To render the new order of things more acceptable to the capitalist class, who are to be destroyed, Blanc is at great pains to convince them that the change will be for their good, as well as for the good of the working classes. He assures them that they will then enjoy safety, tranquility and the satisfaction of observing universal happiness, instead of being harassed by all sorts of dangers and anxieties, born of individualism and private competition, as is now the case.

Let it be supposed now that social workshops have been universally established. What principle, it may be asked, is to determine the apportionment of the various offices and functions within a particular group? The key to this problem—always a difficult one in schemes of social reconstruction—Blanc finds in his all-controlling principle of fraternity, which requires that however much men may differ in capacity they must use all their powers and faculties for others. Capacity is, therefore, the measure of social obligation; and it follows that each one must be so placed in the industrial order that he can use to the full all his talents. “Man has received of nature,” says Blanc, “certain faculties, faculties of loving, of knowing, of acting. But these have by no means been given him that he should exercise them solitarily; they are but the supreme indication of that which each one owes to the society of which he is a member; and this indication each one bears written in his organization in letters of fire. If you are twice as strong as your neighbor, it is a proof that nature has destined you to bear a double burden. If your intelligence is superior, it is a sign that your mission is to scatter



about you more light. Weakness is a creditor of strength; ignorance of learning. The more a man *can* the more he *ought*; and this is the meaning of those beautiful words of the Gospel: 'Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.' Whence the axiom, From every one according to his faculties; that is one's duty."

While Blanc agrees with St. Simon in his principle of social obligation, which measures the duty of the individual to society, he differs from him with respect to the principle of social distribution, the principle which determines each one's share of the social income. After assigning one part of the net proceeds of an industry to the support of the aged, the sick and the infirm, and the alleviation of crises, which will be less frequent, however, and less severe than now, and another to the furnishing of the instruments of labor to those who wish to come under the system, Blanc divides the remainder among the workers, not in proportion to services rendered, as St. Simon does, but according to their needs. "All men," he declares, "are not equal in physical force, in intelligence; all have not the same tastes, the same inclinations, the same aptitudes, any more than they have the same visage or the same figure; but it is just, it is in the general interest, it is in conformity with the principle of solidarity established in accordance with the laws of nature, that each one should be placed in a condition to derive the greatest possible advantage from his faculties, in so far as this can be done with due regard to others, and to satisfy as completely as possible, without injuring others, the needs which nature has given him. Thus there is no health and vigor in the human body unless each member receives that which is able to preserve it from pain and to accomplish properly its peculiar function. Equality, then, is only proportionality, and it exists in a true manner only when each one, in accordance with the law written in some shape in his organization by God himself, produces according to his faculties and consumes according to his wants."



But to Blanc, as to so many other social renovators, the remuneration of labor presents an insurmountable difficulty. He has no sooner obtained his economic formula, apparently to his satisfaction, which is to govern both the production and the distribution of wealth, than he begins to suspect the justice, as well as the practicability, of its latter half. In the earlier editions of the *Organization du Travail* there is no hint of any other principle of distribution than that of need. Later, however, it appears that this was merely a provisional arrangement, a necessary concession to the "false and anti-social education given to the present generation," which "makes it difficult to find any other motive of emulation and encouragement than a higher salary." This concession he definitely withdrew in 1848 and substituted for the principle of need that of absolute equality. Under a right system of education, he declares, men will no longer need the spur of a higher salary. Honor will be a sufficient inducement to labor. And genius will find its reward in the consciousness of exceptional services rendered to society.

It will be noted that Blanc's scheme, as it has been outlined thus far, is almost exclusively economic in character. It contemplates no radical transformation of political arrangements. It takes government much as it finds it, provided only that it be democratic, but limits its activities to setting in motion the new economic order and establishing certain very general regulations for the government of industry. But Blanc has so much faith in the virtue of the coöperative principle that he confidently expects it to extend its transforming touch to various social interests. "The evident economy and incontestable excellence of the life in common," he asserts, "will give birth to voluntary association for wants and pleasures"; and in this way the better part of Fourier's scheme will be realized.

The statement has been made that Blanc is one of the few utopians whose schemes have been put into actual operation. This is true only in a very limited sense. The test was not a



fair one; and the failure of the attempt argues nothing against the practicability of Blanc's views. Because of his prominence in the Revolution of 1848 and his popularity with the workmen of Paris Blanc became a member of the provisional government which was organized after the fall of Louis Philippe. From this vantage point he urged upon the government various socialistic measures, demanding among other things the creation of a ministry of labor and progress. He failed in this as in other matters, although the government did at his instance go so far as to proclaim the principle of the "droit au travail," or the right of laborers to demand work from the government when unable to find it elsewhere. To discredit Blanc and his views the government finally determined to establish a number of workshops, to be organized, however, in such a way that they could not possibly succeed. Their management was entrusted to one of Blanc's most bitter enemies, who had no faith in the scheme, and who was informed at the outset by the Minister of Public Works that "it was the well-formed intention of the government to try this experiment of the commission of government for laborers; that in itself it could not fail to have good results because it would demonstrate to the laborers the emptiness and falseness of these inapplicable theories, and cause them to perceive the disastrous consequences flowing therefrom for themselves, and would so discredit Louis Blanc in their eyes that he should forever cease to be a danger."

The experiment failed as it was bound to do, and after a trial of four months the shops were closed, Blanc himself joining in the demand for their abolition when he realized the designs of the government. Despite the fact that he was in no wise responsible for the manner in which these shops were conducted, their failure did not fail to discredit him among the workmen of Paris. This emboldened the government to proceed against him on the trumped-up charge of having participated in the uprising of May 15, 1848. The truth of the matter is that instead of participating in that up-



rising he had lost much of his popularity with the working classes by opposing all suggestions of violence and insisting on the maintenance of peace and order. The result of the accusation was that he was driven into exile, going first to Belgium, and then to England, where he remained until the overthrow of Napoleon III in 1870. His subsequent activities, whether literary, journalistic or political, were to a marked degree conservative. His influence was always on the side of order; and to the day of his death he worked and hoped and waited for the realization of his dreams through the normal operation of the established political order.

LANCASTER, PA.



## VIII.

### EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

#### THE SUPERNATURAL AND THE NATURAL.

The term "supernatural" has many different shades of meaning. In our loose, popular speech it denotes the extraordinary, that which defies analysis and baffles investigation; and its antonyms are: common, ordinary, usual. In philosophy, Supernaturalism is the name given to a *Weltanschauung* which maintains the theory of a self-existent Supreme Being, who originated and who now controls the forces of nature. It is the opposite of Naturalism, which reduces the whole cosmic process, whether psychical or physical, to the operation of purely naturalistic forces. In theology, the supernatural and the miraculous are practically identical terms. Theologians have held that the occurrence of miracles is, at once, the clearest proof of the existence of God and the surest demonstration of his unlimited power.

It is evident that the common denominator of these varying conceptions of the supernatural is the idea of a Supreme Being. Supernaturalism, in all its shades of meaning, is a term which includes the idea of God. Whether this faith in the supernatural be the superstition of the primitive man, who refers all "surprises" in nature and history to the activity of benevolent or malevolent deities; or whether it be the scientific conviction of a philosophical theist, who maintains that a rational world requires a rational Being for its ultimate ground; or whether it be the assurance of a Christian theologian, who asserts that the miracles reported in the Bible are well-attested instances of the immediate exercise of divine power,—the major premise of all supernaturalists contains



the term God. Throughout the ages, from primitive times to the modern era, they have believed and contended, as against all purely naturalistic interpretations of the universe, that one of its constituent factors is divine.

And this ancient cleavage still exists. Both supernaturalists and naturalists have their champions and their camp-followers in the twentieth century. Indeed, the strife between these two antagonistic views of the world was never keener, or more universal, than today. It occupies the center of the stage. On both sides the old weapons are refurbished, new ones are constantly being forged, and the din of this battle drowns all other debates. Prof. Peabody, of Harvard, tells the story of a Baptist freshman who sought his advice in great mental distress. This perplexed youth was fully persuaded that infant baptism is unscriptural, and he was equally sound on all other tenets distinctive of Baptists. "But tell me," he said to his solicitous mentor, "is there really a God?" This characteristic anecdote loses its humorous flavor when one observes our age and hears this same anxious query on all sides. The problem has gone far beyond the sacred precincts of cloister and academy, where learned men were wont to discuss it. It has made its belated entry into popular magazines and into summer assemblies. It furnishes plots to dramatists and stories to novelists. And the names of the great leaders in this Kampf um die Weltanschauung, such as Haeckel, Eucken, and Bergson, are household-words throughout the civilized world. Those who keep abreast with the current flood of articles on Bergson will recall the surprise expressed by more than one writer at the intelligent interest in the abstruse philosophy of this brilliant Frenchman manifested by persons of little, or no, scholastic attainments. This widespread interest in a question that touches the bottom fact of the universe is one of the good omens of our time. It tends to disprove the popular lament that, in the luxuriant materialism of our age, men have lost their zest for all questions that do not directly affect their physical welfare. But it tends



likewise to prove that the problem of the supernatural is still far from being settled to the satisfaction of either side.

And it appears, moreover, that in this stirring combat, fraught with such tremendous consequences, one side at least is committing a strategic blunder of sufficient magnitude to retard, if not to jeopardize, the ultimate victory. Formerly, the two contending forces were easily distinguished. A vertical line ran between the hostile camps of supernaturalists and naturalists; and the frontier, on either side, was guarded by doughty champions. From the bulwarks of revelation, the theologians fought shoulder to shoulder, in solid phalanx, against those who in laboratory or lecture-room, with microscope or telescope, sought to dethrone God. But today the theological camp is divided against itself. And this internecine warfare is, to say the least, poor strategy against a united enemy.

We witness a similar spectacle today in the political arena. The line that once ran vertically through our body politic, dividing the millions of voters into democrats and republicans, now cuts horizontally through the ancient parties, quartering the electorate into confused and contending sections. The old labels are still used. But nobody seems to know who is entitled to their rightful use. New issues have arisen and many grave problems cry imperatively for wise statesmanship. But politicians still cling desperately to the old labels. Much time and energy were wasted in the recent political campaign by men of both parties to thrust their erstwhile leaders out of the ranks of orthodox democracy and simon-pure republicanism into the limbo of demagogy. No sane man enjoyed these hysterical performances. And yet every loyal American, who dips beneath the froth and foam of campaign oratory, realizes that they were symptomatic of a deeper trouble. The fact is that the old labels are no longer descriptive of the parties that bear them. The logic of events has made them delusive misnomers. Even the blunt terms "standpatter" and "insurgent," crudely coined though they be, are more accurate



descriptions of the political tendencies of our day than the traditional party names. It remains for the future to crystallize the pending political issues more clearly and definitely, to reallign the confused factions into coherent homogeneous groups, and to coin names that will label them truthfully.

And a precisely similar condition confronts us in the ecclesiastical arena, particularly with reference to the fundamental issue of Supernaturalism. Quite recently the highest judiciaries of two of our great denominations were compelled to sit in judgment on certain men of their respective communions who were vigorously accused of injecting the virus of Naturalism into Sunday-school literature, and, through this channel, into the hearts and minds of the young people of the churches. Now it seems unlikely, in the nature of things, that devoted churchmen, who have consecrated their time and talents to the kingdom of God, should be engaged in a surreptitious propaganda for Naturalism,—even as it is improbable that statesmen, with an enviable record of patriotic service, should be masked demagogues. And an examination of this “naturalistic” literature reveals evidences of a sturdy faith in the supernatural on almost every page. The writers of these Sunday School lessons believe in the God of the Christian revelation. They believe in his presence in the world of nature and in the fabric of history, and in his absolute power to rule and control all human and natural forces. REAL naturalists would dub men of such convictions “obscurantists,” but their own brethren would fain thrust them out of the ranks of the regulars.

Why, then, this persistent effort to stigmatize such men as traitors to the cause of Supernaturalism? Why this unlovely spectacle of ecclesiastical bickering? Why this strategic blunder of dividing the forces within the fortress at a time that calls loudly for united action against a resourceful enemy? Evidently, here also the ancient labels are no longer sufficiently descriptive to serve as party badges. They fit the past, but they do not clearly describe the present issue. The terms



Supernaturalism and Naturalism do not mean today what they meant in the age of Thomas Aquinas. Then they denoted theories of the world that were mutually exclusive, but today they are complementary parts of the unified Christian Weltanschauung. One is tempted to say that just as in the state we need supremely "democratic republicans," *i. e.*, patriots who believe that republican institutions exist, and should be administered, by and for all the people, so in the Church we need "naturalistic supernaturalists," *i. e.*, Christians who believe that God exists in, and has revealed himself through, nature.

When Thomas Aquinas drew his famous distinction between the kingdom of nature and the kingdom of grace, he rendered his Church and his age a service of the highest order. He gave the shackled spirit of man full liberty to explore the realm of nature, and he also established the absolute authority of the Church in the realm of the supernatural. According to the teaching of this great theologian, these two kingdoms of nature and grace were distinct and separate hemispheres of the universe. From eternity God had dwelt in the higher sphere, remote from the world. But, in the interest of man's salvation, he had come miraculously into the lower sphere to reveal his divine will, to achieve our redemption, and to establish the Church as his representative. And then God had again withdrawn his personal presence from the sphere of nature. This ingenious doctrinal system lifted the Catholic Church, for a brief period, upon the very pinnacle of its power. It satisfied the restless intellectual spirit of the age by assigning it a legitimate sphere and an ennobling function. And, at the same time, it averted the dangers that threatened the Church by making it the only door through which men had access to the realm of the supernatural.

But two causes, operating silently through the centuries, have caused this magnificent dogmatic structure of the Angelic Doctor to collapse utterly, *viz.*, science and religion. Its author himself drove the entering wedge of ultimate de-



struction into his theological system when he conceded the human spirit the coveted boon of free investigation. Science, like the ungrateful child of a generous parent, heeded the permission and, straightway, forgot the prohibition. It brooked no barriers to its explorations. And it soon discovered that Aquinas' divided universe was a fiction. With tireless labor it wrested nature's age-long secrets from her jealous clutch. And it heard the same legend whispered by earth, sky, and sea. It found everywhere one vast universe of beauty, law, and order. And then science said to theology, "Your God is nowhere to be found. There is no room for him, and no need of him anywhere. From the tiniest seed to the mightiest sun this universe is controlled by natural law."

But the primary cause of the overthrow of the medieval dualism of Thomas Aquinas must not be sought in science. Theologians reject it not because scientists have proved to them that God is nowhere, but because Jesus Christ has revealed to them that God is everywhere. Since the age of the Reformation men have gone back to the living source of the Christian revelation, and they have found in the Bible, in ancient prophetism and in the gospel of Jesus, the glad assurance that God does not dwell apart and aloof from the world, in transcendent isolation, but in it, as its immanent life. They have learned that his contact and communion with the world which he has made is not casual and sporadic, but organic and permanent. The creator and controller of the universe does not dwell outside its framework. And, therefore, he has no need of breaking into it, as it were, for the purposes of revelation, by violating or suspending or surpassing existing laws. He is constantly and permanently in the created universe. The so-called natural laws are the supernatural modes of his personal presence, and the moral methods of his beneficent administration.

There are still scientists who demolish Thormism, and who imagine that they have annihilated the Christian religion. And there are still Thormists, in Protestantism as well as in



Catholicism, who denounce scientific Naturalism because they think that it is subversive of faith in God. But there is also an ever increasing number of intelligent Christians who recognize that Supernaturalism and Naturalism, so-called, are simply two ways of looking at the same thing, each having its distinctive sphere and its legitimate function, and both being necessary to a full-orbed view of the world. The naturalist sees, as it were, the outside of the universe. He observes and reports facts and phenomena. The supernaturalist sees the inside of the universe. He interprets the observations of science in the light of the Christian revelation. More and more science confesses that the explanation of the riddle of the universe as given by the gospel of Jesus Christ is more rational, and more satisfactory to heart and will, than all the guesses of philosophy. And ever increasingly Christian theology shows its readiness to learn from science what the methods are by which God has made, and is still conducting his universe towards its consummation. To men so minded, whether scientists or theologians, the natural and the supernatural are complementary aspects of ultimate reality. Not distinct and separate spheres, the one above the other, as Thomas Aquinas held, but mutually interpenetrating parts of the whole. Thus, "earth's crammed with heaven and every common bush alive with God." The natural is the supernatural expressed in forms that are tangible and visible. And the supernatural is the natural seen in its spiritual significance.

But does not such a conception of the supernatural border close upon pantheism? It does. It goes close enough to pantheism to apprehend and appropriate from it the profound truth of the immanence of God in the entire sphere of creation, a truth which Christian theology, to its hurt, has sadly neglected. But it differentiates itself clearly and emphatically from pantheism in that it maintains, in full accord with the gospel of Jesus Christ, the personal transcendence of the immanent God, his absolute superiority in being, character, power, and purpose over all other factors in the universe.



Thus the gospel of Jesus Christ remains forever the only adequate source for our conception of the supernatural. Those, who through the Master have come to know the Father, will understand the spiritual significance of the natural. They will know that man and matter, history and nature, yea all things, are throbbing with the presence, the power, and the purpose of that ultimate and absolute divine Being whom Jesus has taught us to know and worship as our Father.

Such men are supernaturalists in the deepest and truest Christian sense of that term. And, we repeat, it is, to say the least, a blundering strategy that seeks to deprive them of their right to that label in an age that sorely needs every man who by voice or pen, with precept or practice, can interpret the universe in terms of its abiding spiritual significance.

THEO. F. HERMAN.



## IX.

### NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The following books have been received. They will be reviewed in subsequent issues of the REVIEW.

THE GOODLY FELLOWSHIP. By Rachel C. Schauffler. New York, The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Ave. 1912. Price \$1.25 net.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES. By the Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary. Published in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Seminary. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912. Price \$3 net.

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# THE REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW

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No. 4.—OCTOBER—1912.

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## I.

### MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY.<sup>1</sup>

COUNT JOHANN HEINRICH VON BERNSTORFF.

I wish to thank you most sincerely for the privilege of appearing before you to-day. I very highly appreciate the great honor conferred on me by this celebrated old college and I beg to be allowed to express my heartfelt congratulations on its 125th anniversary. May Franklin and Marshall College, as it has under the guidance of its distinguished presidents always done in the past, also in future be a center of light and inspiration and hold up to its students the ideals of a high and splendid life.

It is exceedingly gratifying to me that the degree of Doctor of Laws will bring me in lasting connection with this great college. I am well aware that in conferring such a high honor on me, you were less prompted by the wish to recognize my small personal merits than by the desire to express your friendship and sympathy for the nation I have the honor to repre-

<sup>1</sup> The Commencement Address delivered by Count Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff, LL.D., ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the German Empire, at the Charter Anniversary of Franklin and Marshall College held at the Fulton Opera House, in Lancaster, Pa., on June 13, 1912.



sent. Such friendship seems especially natural in Lancaster, as this lovely spot has been the home of the first German settlers who reached this hospitable country. In those days Pennsylvania was the most German of all the colonies. That, however, is a story which you all know more about than I do. Those German settlers and the many millions of others who came here in later days have since been Americanized and proved to be very good citizens.

They now form a natural bond of an ever increasing friendship between Germany and the United States. Most of them left their old home when the name of Germany only lived in verse and song and the nation was granulated into many political units. Since that time the new German Empire has been founded and its development was so remarkable as to command the admiration of the whole world. Many of our institutions are studied by Americans with great interest. This applies especially to our municipal government.

The old historical self-government of our cities, of which we are very proud, was reinstituted on modern principles by one of our greatest statesmen, Baron Stein, after the collapse of old Prussia in 1806. The city reform was peculiarly Stein's own idea, the practical measure of carrying it into effect was his work alone. Its corner stone was the right of the people to think and act upon their own local interests.

The reform which has been fruitful in blessings ever since Stein's time began at the base, giving self-government to the towns, schooling them in managing their own affairs, in checking their own functionaries, in taking their own responsibilities. While keeping the central monarchy strong, his great exertion was to restore fitness for public life in the country at large. He therefore sought to exercise the city populations in public affairs. Since the days of Stein time has of course brought about some changes in the municipal government in Germany, which has been largely developed to meet new needs, but the system is still the same. It has been well said that this system has been shaped by the conviction that the work of



governing a town is so important and so difficult that it requires the whole working time and all the powers and thought of able men who have acquired special knowledge of the problems of town administration by a long experience of the work, and who know that if they are guilty of neglect of duty or act dishonestly, they will be ruined for life by losing their position, the salaries on which they live, and the confidence of the public, without which they cannot obtain other appointments.

While a considerable number of persons on the town council are permanent officials the majority of members are elected by the rate payers and it is the elected members who appoint the Ober Bürgermeister, who has to assist him two or three Bürgermeisters and other permanent officials, invariably men of high educational standing and great experience.

The first Bürgermeister holds his office practically for life, but he is subject to reëlection for long terms of office. The members of the city councils are reëlected by sections, so that the composition of a municipal body is never completely changed.

One other feature of the system may be of especial interest to Americans as it differs fully from the system employed here. To be a burgher of a city in Germany one must have a definite and tangible interest in the community. In the theory and practice of city government in Europe a city has always been regarded as a corporation which had business to conduct and property to administer. According to this theory a distinction is made between the civil and political rights on one side, and on the other what may be called municipal rights, the right to take active part in administering city property and determining city policy. As to the latter right, it is felt in Germany that the people exercising it should have some evident stake in the corporation whose affairs they were called upon to control and administer.

The first thing that will strike a foreigner in German cities is the number and variety of the functions with which, for the benefit of the citizens, the public authority charges itself.



Most town councils not only supply water, gas and electric lighting and power, and make a good profit in relief of local expenditure, but also finance all the hospitals, treatment of phthisis, and all the schools, including colleges for advanced technical instruction. In most places the municipalities own and work the tramways with very low fares and very high profits; they maintain fire stations with the most advanced apparatus; they have abbatoirs regulated by veterinary science for the slaughter of animals for human food; in such cities as Cologne, Frankfort and Mannheim they manage enormous docks for the accommodation of fresh-water navigation; they maintain, for the recreation of the citizens, museums, picture galleries, parks, playgrounds, baths, bands of music and even theaters.

The mediæval town of Frankfort grew out of an old Roman settlement, which was extended for the first time in the middle of the twelfth century. Streets now occupy the position of the ramparts then erected, and in one of these streets was born the most distinguished citizen of Frankfort—Johann Wolfgang Goethe. In the middle of the fourteenth century the town was enlarged for the second time, and the boundaries then laid down remained until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the walls were broken down.

Part of the fortifications were made into public gardens; the remaining ground was sold to private persons, but on condition that on each site only one building should be erected, while the remainder should for all time be preserved as garden ground. This regulation has rendered possible the belt of public and private gardens which surrounds Frankfort, and which her citizens consider as one of the greatest benefits that their ancestors have left them.

The removal of the walls gave the town full liberty of expansion in every direction and rendered the existence of modern Frankfort possible.

In a modern German town new streets are not the creation of private enterprise. It is not the owner of the land who



makes the plans for a new street according to his own interest; but the town council plans the streets in accordance with the interest and needs of the whole population.

There are no restrictions as to the width of streets or as to their construction, so that the town council has full liberty to consider the requirements of different districts. One street may be 8 meters wide, another 12 or 13 meters wide, and so on. Some streets are 50 meters wide, so that the width of streets may be said to range from 20 to 200 feet.

The town council also prescribes the material to be used in the construction of roadways and footpaths, whether wood paving, asphalt or something else.

The naming of streets is also entirely in the hands of the town council.

The council decided in what streets front gardens are to be permitted and how large they must be, what streets are to be planted with trees, and where public squares, playgrounds, etc., are to be situated.

In this way a distribution of open spaces and playgrounds all over the city is secured.

The municipal authorities also decide what classes of buildings are to be erected in the various localities. Some districts are devoted to factories, others are declared to be mixed quarters, where both dwelling houses and workshops may be erected, while the remainder is set aside as a residential district.

The following is the method of town planning followed by the municipality. First of all a plan is made, showing the general scheme of the proposed new streets. The public is invited to inspect the plan and objections are received and considered by the body which has to sanction the plans, and which is known as the *Bezirksausschuss*. Only after the plan has been approved are buildings permitted to be erected.

It is in the interest of the landowners that the street plans should be approved and it rarely happens that sanction has to be refused to a plan on account of objections brought against it.

The streets are planned not merely for this year's or next



year's convenience but with a view to the probable requirements of a long period of years.

Of course the municipality could not exercise this power of town planning unless they had also the power of expropriation. This power is given by law, and there is no need to go to Parliament for special powers in a case where expropriation is necessary. But as a matter of fact it is very rarely used. In the great majority of cases the landowners prefer to hand over to the municipality by agreement the land necessary for the formation of new streets. They know quite well that the value of their property will be raised by the erection of new streets, and also that the power of compulsion is in the background.

In many cases, however, the municipality already owns the necessary land. The city, as well as the hospitals and other benevolent institutions which are under its control, inherits from ancient times a considerable amount of land lying within the city boundaries, and increased its landed property yearly by buying fresh estates. Within the last ten years the city of Frankfort has expended more than \$50,000,000 in the purchase of land. There are no hindrances in the way of land purchases by the municipality, and the city has always found good use for as much landed property as it possesses. It is needed for parks and playgrounds, for docks and warehouses, for electrical works and tramway depots, for hospitals and schools.

In German towns all works which have the character of a monopoly are to a great extent municipalized.

The city and the institutions under its control possesses within its boundaries 12,800 acres of land, *i. e.*, more than half of the entire area of Frankfort. Outside, the municipality owns 3,800 acres, making a total of 16,650 acres. Of this 8,500 acres are covered with wood which will probably be used for building purposes. The largest part of the timber is produced by the municipal forest or Stadtwald purchased from the German emperors at the end of the fourteenth century.



You have seen how our streets are laid out and how the necessary land is acquired. But a difficulty arises from the fact that most of the land outside German cities is not in the hands of great owners but of small proprietors, and any of these plots of ground when acquired would be unfit for building purposes, being too small or too narrow for the purpose.

It is therefore necessary to bring these small plots into a shape more suitable for building purposes, and this is done by an institution called *Umlegung*, which may be rendered as redistribution. It means that all the plots of ground belonging to different owners, situated in a given area, are united into one plot. Out of this plot is taken the land needed for streets and squares, and then the remainder is carved into suitable sites and each landowner receives a site corresponding in size to the area which he has handed over to the *Umlegung* less the area taken for streets. Many such redistributions have been made in Frankfort.

Of course, such a redistribution could not be carried out in any given district unless all the landowners of the district concurred in it. If a single landowner did not consent, the project could not be executed even if it were to the undoubted benefit both of the landowner and the town. Therefore efforts have been made in the last few years to make the *Umlegung* compulsory, and at last a special act for Frankfort was passed by the Legislature, which is called the *Adickes Law*, after the name of the *Bürgermeister*, who has done most to advocate the idea of redistribution. By this act the city is entitled to make any redistribution, if half the landowners in a given area consent, and if the consenting landowners possess half of the land in question. An amendment to the Act has been passed since which empowers the city to take out 40 per cent. of the area in question for streets, and to leave only 60 per cent. for redistribution among the landowners.

In cases of redistribution the city acquires without payment the land required for streets. But in cases where the city has to give the land required for streets out of its own



property or to acquire land by purchase or expropriation, an outlay of thousands of marks is necessitated. Fortunately the city is enabled to recoup itself, for the law provides that the landowners are obliged to repay the expense which the city has had in forming streets, as soon as they begin to erect buildings on these streets. They have to pay for each site according to the length of its frontage. Besides this they have to pay the cost of keeping the streets in repair during a certain number of years.

In cases where public works are especially profitable to the landowners of a certain district, the city has power to raise a special rate from these landowners.

In this way the municipality secures its share of the profits which accrue to the landowners by town extension. Vacant sites are rated not on the income they give, but on the capital value. Moreover, the unearned increment is taxed on a sliding scale, and people have to pay a certain percentage of the profit they have made by selling a building or a vacant site.

Now with reference to the provision of good and healthy dwellings for the working classes, there are in Frankfort, as in all large and ancient cities, a number of undesirable dwellings. But the area in which these dwellings exist is constantly decreasing, because the dwellings are being transformed into offices. A great many old houses have disappeared owing to the laying out of new streets. These new streets, which cost many millions of marks, were made chiefly to secure better lines of communication; but at the same time they have improved the housing conditions. The building regulations also tend in this direction.

The building regulations of Frankfort are drawn up by the city council, not, as in many other German towns, by the state government. At a very early period regulations existed which forbade the erection of unhealthy houses, and during the period of industrial expansion no cellar dwellings or back-to-back houses—and it may be added no slums—could come into existence. I should overtax your patience if I were to



quote the building regulations in detail, but it may be said generally that they are designed to secure a sufficiency of air space and to diminish the density of population. The town is divided into three districts or zones. In the inner zone, buildings with basement and four upper stories may be erected; in the middle zone, houses with basements and three stories are permissible, but, in the outer zone, houses may not have more than two upper stories, and in small streets only one.

In the inner zone, one quarter of each site must be left from buildings; in the middle zone, four tenths; and in the outer zone, five tenths. This does not include front gardens, if such exist. In certain districts even eight tenths of the whole space must be left free.

It is all the more necessary to provide plenty of open space because in many parts of Germany, and certainly in Frankfurt, people cannot afford to have houses of their own. The working classes and even the middle classes are compelled to live in flats, because the price of land, and in consequence the rent of the houses, is very high.

With regard to the city's revenue, its chief source is a supplementary income tax, which often exceeds the amount handed over to the government. The state levies an income and a fortune tax. The city levies a ground tax on land, whether built on or not. In case of land not built on, however, three quarters of the value is taken. The effect of this taxation of vacant land is naturally to stimulate building, and to act as a check on the rise of rents. An abatement of half the value is allowed on the ground tax in the case of workmen's dwellings let at low rentals, and on land belonging to mutual building societies. Land has to bear a still further tax, in the form of a transfer duty of two per cent., on the value of the land, when changing hands through purchase or exchange. The municipality draws still further from the burghers in the shape of a trade tax on every one engaged in a trade or industry. There is a special application of this tax for large stores dealing in more than one class of goods, and



having a yearly turnover of upwards of 4,000 marks. The higher stores tax then comes into operation and is levied on a special scale.

The city often imposes a supplementary tax on the transfer of land, based on the increase of the value of the land, and rising according to the amount of profit and the period of possession from 10 to 25 per cent. of the said profit.

The cities further draw revenue from a number of other smaller sources. For instance, there is a special trade tax on license-holders, public houses, beer shops where spirits are retailed. The rate of this traffic tax varies from 10 to 100 marks, according to the extent of the business. There is also a tax on itinerary merchants and hawkers, varying from 50 marks per day to 50 per week. The municipality fixes an additional beer tax beyond the government brewing tax. It is an addition of 50 per cent. to the government tax. It also levies a duty of 65 pfennige per hectoliter on beer brewed outside the borough—a kind of octroi duty. In most cities dogs are not overlooked as a source of revenue.

All amusements—theatrical performances, concerts, horse and bicycle races, balls, exhibitions, etc.—have to pay a tax, where tickets are issued amounting to 10 per cent. of the value of the ticket.

House owners have to pay drain dues for connecting the house drains with the street sewers, at the rate of about four marks per meter in length of the frontage, and one mark per meter where the frontage is not built on. Tenants pay 6 per cent. on the rent of their houses for the removal of house refuse; but dwellings which are let at less than 360 marks are exempt.

Dues are levied for sanctioning and supervising the erection of new buildings, structural alteration, etc., and the municipality charges 20 pfennige for supplying the citizens with information as to the address of inhabitants, etc. The workmen's insurance laws have had a great influence on the German cities in giving a strong impetus, which led to the creation of very many useful municipal institutions.



The cities are burdened by the workmen's insurance partly in their quality as administrative authorities having to perform a certain quantity of work for the execution of the three branches of insurance, partly as the responsible executors of the communal sick insurance which often requires subvention out of communal funds, and partly as employers in the municipal public works, such as gas, water, electric works, and tramways.

Considering that the workman is only entitled to claim the benefits of the insurance laws in case of sickness, accident, invalidity and old age, if his position is that of a workman from the legal point of view, many towns have taken measures to the effect that every healthy workman gets occupation, if possible, and remains insured.

For that purpose, labor register offices have been instituted which, under responsible direction, form central offices for the labor market and assist the workman in looking for employment. They supply to the unemployed workman quick and gratuitous information about vacancies and so reduce the time of involuntary idleness and enable him to earn his living and, at the same time, to found his legal claim for further assistance. Hardly any German city of any industrial importance can be named which has not in regular operation an efficient labor registry.

The executive bodies are chosen in different ways, but employers and work people are generally given a place and a voice upon them. In the great majority of cases the bureaus are independent departments of municipal government with separate officials and offices, though here and there they are associated with other branches of work. In most cases the seekers of work like the seekers of workers are simply registered in lists, classified according to occupation and at stated times are invited to call and inquire whether their needs can be supplied. It is becoming very common, however, to provide convenient waiting rooms in which the registered unemployed can be sheltered during the day. Where this is done



a vacancy list is usually read out in hearing of the assembled applicants at regular intervals. Several cities have devoted and have even specially built large and convenient buildings for this important branch of work. As a rule the bureaus are open all day on week days, and in many cases for a few hours on Sundays as well. Free service is now the almost universal rule, whether the applicant be a workman or an employer, the costs of the institution all falling on the municipality.

The period for which applicants are registered varies from a fortnight to several months, but at the end of the time registration may be renewed, should work not have been found. No uniform rule is followed in the consideration of applications for employment. Nominally, indeed, such applications are taken in the order of priority in the case of unskilled workmen, though the head of a household will not uncommonly be given the preference before a single man. In dealing with skilled labor a man's capacity and his fitness for the special task offered are considered, even where the employer does not make express stipulations on the point. It is unusual for the labor bureau to inquire into the personal character of the applicants; here master and man are left to the test of experience. It is, however, an almost invariable rule to require an applicant for work to legitimize himself by the production of some such official document as a labor book, army discharge certificate, or insurance paper, which not infrequently has to be deposited until he either finds work or is discharged from the register. There is no rule debarring men in work from seeking new employment through the labor bureau, but it is seldom that questions are asked on the point.

The towns are further endeavoring to reduce involuntary idleness by providing for work, viz., by having so-called "distress work" executed. This kind of work has been undertaken by the cities to a great extent during the last few years of economic depression. The municipalities are recognizing the opportunity, if not so readily the duty, of offering a helping hand to the laboring class in time of need. In most of the



large cities the undertaking of "distress work" in times of exceptional unemployment is now a part of a well-devised scheme and is regulated in every detail by elaborate municipal statutes or by-laws. As a rule such works are carried out during the winter months only, from the beginning of December to the end of February or the middle of March. And yet the fact should be emphasized that the municipalities are adverse to any formal recognition of the public responsibility for the employment of the workless amongst their citizens. Even in the cities where the provision of distress works is systematic and recurs unerringly with the revolution of the year, the authorities, in self-protection, generally take care to disown any direct social obligation. They act of grace and not of moral compulsion. Sound reasons point to the desirability of such a policy of prudence. The concession of the principle of a "right to work" involves a responsibility, which, whether justifiable or not, is one of immense significance. Moreover, if a municipality is morally bound to provide its members with employment it is obvious that such a responsibility cannot be extended to outsiders whom roaming ways, encouraged by an adventurous spirit or even a genuine desire for work, may have brought to the town. If a universal right to work be admitted, the question becomes a national one, and the state must in that event intervene. At the same time it is recognized that it is a wise policy to keep deserving people off the poor law, so helping them to retain the spirit of independence and self-reliance and not less to protect them from idleness, which is so fruitful a cause of demoralization in every class of society. It is the recognition of this fact more than any other consideration that has led so many municipalities in Germany to override objections and difficulties and under proper safeguards to create facilities for work in times of special scarcity. There are two ways of doing this: where possible work of an ordinary kind is offered on normal conditions as to wages, either by the municipality engaging direct from the labor bureau such of the unemployed as can be ac-



commodated or by its requiring its contractors to cover their labor requirement from the local supplies. Where such normal work cannot be offered, distress or relief works of a temporary character are carried on under special conditions. The work of the latter kind most commonly undertaken are excavation, the laying out of parks and gardens, the construction of roads and streets, forest work, paving, stone breaking and so forth. In most cities distress work is only offered to persons selected by various tests, as residential qualification or responsibility for the maintenance of others.

Some municipalities have also approached the question of insuring workmen against involuntary idleness, and thus providing assistance for them when they are out of employment.

The institution of insurance against worklessness is an offshoot of the labor bureaus. Not only it is a product of the experience gained in the work of labor registration, but where introduced, it has generally been directly associated with that work, if not under the same officials, at least as an integral part of the policy of labor protection. The enterprising municipal workers of Cologne were the first to supplement their existing admirable labor by an unemployment bureau. Other cities have followed this example. The executives of these institutions generally consist of the mayor, or a deputy named by him, the chairman of the municipal labor bureau, and elected members, half insured workmen, half patrons or honorary members, of whom some must be employers. Unemployment bureaus mostly confine insurance and its benefits to worklessness occurring during the winter. In this way they greatly narrow their liabilities, while yet protecting their members against want and suffering in the most trying season of the year. Worklessness must also be unavoidable and free from culpability. Every member must pay weekly contributions in order to be entitled to out-of-work benefits. There are, however, three other sources of income, the contributions of patrons and honorary members, contributions from



societies, employers and others and a liberal subvention from the municipality.

In return for their contributions the insured have a claim to support from the funds in the event of inculpable worklessness occurring during the period December 1 to March 1 for so long a time as such condition continues and work cannot be found for them. Such unemployed persons are required to present themselves at the bureau twice a day. Should work be offered, suitable as to the character and remuneration, it must be accepted on pain of forfeiting the out-of-work benefit. Here will be seen the practical advantage of having the insurance fund connected with the labor bureau. It is usual to give to the members of the fund prior consideration in the filling of vacancies by way of encouraging them in a provident spirit.

The cities are also devoting ever-increasing attention to the housing of the workmen employed by them and of the less prosperous inhabitants of their districts in general. On the one hand, they construct cheap dwellings of a small size for the municipal workmen, or they stipulate by statute that such dwellings constructed by them may only be let or sold to workmen and subaltern officials, on the other hand, they encourage private builders or building societies to construct such dwellings by granting them certain favors and subventions in money or by conceding municipal ground to build on. Besides they endeavor to improve the dwellings in existence and help the requirements of offer and demand to be met with by emitting police rules for the conditions of dwellings, by appointing inspectors of dwellings and opening dwellings' register offices. In their treatment of this problem the German municipalities have an advantage in their favor in the landed estate which commonly forms an important part of a city's assets. It is for the most part land unbuilt upon and not always within the present municipal area, yet its eligibility for public and for residential purposes increases every year as the means of locomotion are improved. Berlin, Cologne, Munich, Dresden and Frankfort among the larger German cities are



especially rich in this respect, thanks largely to the foresight and intelligence of their local officers in the matter, and few places of any consequence are entirely without. There are also few which do not entrust to their statistical bureau, which forms so important and so instructive a department of municipal government, the duty of enumerating houses, with details as to character, proportions, number of rooms, and of inhabitants, rents, etc., so full and exact as to give to the report a high social value. Leipzig is one of the cities—and there are many of them—which have devoted a portion of their real estate to the housing of the working classes. The municipality there has leased for 100 years at a low rent to a philanthropic building society a large piece of communal land in the environs for the erection of cheap houses. The majority of the houses have to contain three and some of them more than four rooms. This society cannot transfer its lease hold rights to third parties without the consent of the municipality, and in the event of doing so, both the offending contract and the lease itself may be cancelled. The municipality undertook the initial construction of all squares, roads and footpaths, and went further in undertaking to advance money on mortgage for building purposes should the building societies' revenues prove inadequate, with the provision that the society must refund the loan by regular repayments in such a manner that on termination of the lease the mortgage will be redeemed. The municipality will then take over the land and the dwellings built upon it without compensation. It should be stated that the society itself is being financed by the insurance board of the state of Saxony. This is only one illustration out of many which might be cited of insurance boards making loans for the erection of workingmen's dwellings. The profitable employment of the enormous accumulations of insurance contributions had become a question of acute difficulty until the happy idea was devised of making advances from them to public and philanthropic societies formed for the establishment



of agencies directly concerned with the welfare of the working classes.

The cities are further endeavoring to satisfy the requirements of the working classes for education, for these requirements are steadily increasing with the improvement of the workman's material position. For that reason a number of communities have instituted compulsory industrial schools for youths, popular libraries, reading rooms, lectures, housekeeping schools for the inhabitants, especially the workmen, for the true ambition of the masses of the German nation is less for economic amelioration and material advantages than for education. It is of course difficult to say how far education is followed for the sake of the material benefits which it is able to bestow and therefore is an indirect object of pursuit. Yet every one who has followed the German working class movement and is acquainted with the intellectual life of the German masses will be ready to testify to the widespread popular desire for education, for knowledge, for a greater share in the spiritual treasures of the times. The masses see in education endless perspectives; their thirst for knowledge, like their ambition, impels them to one aim, to be educated. More or less all acknowledge that this, more than anything else, determines a man's rank in modern society, that personality is won by force of education. All the means of extending and perfecting education are seized with zeal and often with passion.

For the performance of the social tasks described above, a number of towns have thought fit to appoint special deputations, so-called "social commissions," whose duty it is to propose desirable measures for the welfare of the working classes and to give their opinion on similar measures that are proposed from other quarters. Among the members of these commissions there are also representatives of the working classes, so that all preliminary work is done from the very beginning in touch with the interested workmen and the measures, when adopted, may be sure of being well received by them.



What I have mentioned in no way gives a complete picture of the present social activity of our communities. But it will be sufficient to show to what degree the cities develop and extend the workmen's insurance and complete the institutions created on account of it; it will show, how, under the influence of the principles established by the workmen's insurance, the cities take new departures in the interest of improving the conditions of the working classes and how, by doing all this, they are the pioneers, as it were, who prepare the ground for state and imperial legislation. Thus the cities, these most important members of our national household, have highly developed the effects of the workmen's insurance and have increased its influence upon our national economy. I am afraid of overtaxing your patience, so I will close my address in thanking you most sincerely for your kind attention. I hope I was able to give you the impression that idealism is still a very effective motive in the acts of the German legislation and that the German nation feels its social responsibility and considers it a duty to assist the weaker classes in their struggle for existence and to help them to attain a higher social, moral and intellectual standard.

WASHINGTON, D. C.



## II.

### A RECALL OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.<sup>1</sup>

HON. JOSEPH BUFFINGTON.

The greatest romance of the new world is the actual life of Benjamin Franklin, for that life was the dream of new world possibilities reduced to reality. A seventeen-year-old apprentice; a runaway from a colony where he was too well known to longer remain; a penniless stranger in another where he started his life anew without acquaintances, friends or influence; an unaided maker of fame and fortune for himself at forty-two years of age; a man of tremendous executive capacity and money-amassing possibilities, he retired at that age on a fair competence and became a contemplative philosopher; thenceforth the giver of his life to the lives of his fellow men—the energizing magnet around which all the altruism of the most free-thought community in America centered. The corner-stone layer of that colonial union on which many claim the nation was subsequently built. A scientist whom the world recognized and revered. The first great teacher through the press of practical life—its habits, its sanity, and its economies. An inventor of things that pertain to the necessities of life, who refused to lay the tribute of monopoly therefor upon his fellows. At fifty-one the solitary representative, in the alien and indifferent atmosphere of England, of colonial rights. A lonely prophet in an old world ignorant of the future of an unknown new world. At seventy, a signer of our Declaration of Independence. At seventy-two the all-powerful advocate of weak and struggling colonies in the imperial

<sup>1</sup> The Phi Beta Kappa address delivered in the Y. M. C. A. auditorium at Lancaster, Pa., on June 12, 1912, by the Hon. Joseph Buffington, LL.D., of Pittsburgh, Pa., United States Circuit Judge, Third Circuit.



court of France. At seventy-seven, a far-seeing maker and signatory to the Treaty of Paris. At eighty-one, a maker of our Constitution—neighbor, publicist, author, teacher, scientist, prophet, humanist, philosopher, humanitarian, patriot and statesman. His story reads like the fantasies of a romance, but its truth outvies fiction. It has been well said: "Great men need not that we praise them; the need is ours that we know them." And in that spirit of turning our thoughts to and drawing a lesson from the life of one of the world's great, I ask you to join with me to-night in a brief recall of Benjamin Franklin. Great he was. Great he has been for a century and great the future will hold him. The world does not deceive itself. It takes a *really* great man to be a great man. It takes such a man to remain great to the end of his life; but if the man is great and proves himself great to the close of his life, posterity will as distance comes turn with deeper reverence to a greatness that instead of disappearing with time is only more clearly outlined. And it is this greatness of the passing years that makes the recall of the really great—the Franklins, the Washingtons and the Lincolns—so profitable. The world recognizes too that greatness is a growth. Mere notoriety, like a gourd, may spring up in a night, but national reverence of a man's character is a thing of years. Like an oak it is not of a night, but is the gathering, silent, insistent call of a contemplative century. For when the world has looked up to one of its leaders as an oak towering high and rooted deep, and when like that oak that great man has weathered the gale of a century's criticism and cynicism, and the century's end still finds his name at the head of the roll call of its immortals, there can be no doubt that its verdict is just. Such has been the case with Franklin. Time and distance, instead of lessening his figure, have but served to make it loom larger, not only on the horizon of his native land, but in lands beyond the sea. The fathers of your college, with prophetic eye, evidenced their faith in Franklin by giving for all time his name to the college they founded and



time has vindicated their judgment. It therefore seems fitting, on this one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary, that one should choose for his theme a recall of the man. And in another way Franklin is peculiarly connected with this Phi Beta Kappa occasion, for no man was so much as he a living embodiment of that helpful motto of our great society—*Philosophia Biou Kubernetes*—Philosophy the Pilot of Life.

No man's life can be really known without a just estimate of the influence upon it of those potent factors, heredity and environment. As seed, soil and sunshine are to plant life, so in human life we find in heredity the seed, and in environment the soil and sunshine that determine the fruitage. It was Oliver Wendell Holmes, I think, who said: "The education of a child begins two hundred and fifty years before it is born." It follows, therefore, that he who takes the mere incident of Franklin's New England birth as the keynote of his life has omitted from his data the factors of a just estimate. The truth is that Franklin was neither a Massachusetts nor a Pennsylvania man. He was essentially a Briton, but a Briton modified by colonial environment. In a letter addressed to Lord Kames, in the early sixties, he himself says: "No man can more sincerely rejoice than I do on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely *as I am a colonist but as I am a Briton*. I have long been of opinion that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British Empire lie in America."

Josiah Franklin, the father of Benjamin, was an Englishman, who emigrated to America at mature age and it is an interesting fact to know that within a few miles of where George Washington's ancestors lived in England the Franklins also dwelt. Here for generations, father and son, Franklin after Franklin, had been blacksmiths. Have you ever thought what a seventeenth century roadside smith was in England? Let me tell you. He was the best posted man in all his county as to what the other counties of England were and what they were doing. Though his shop might be modest,



his face begrimed and his book-learning scant, he was in the forefront bench of the classes in the working university of life. Travel in those days was not indulged in by many. It was only the rare few who ever got outside their own neighborhood, but the comparatively few who did were the most progressive men of England and to the smith's shop they all in their journey came and had to come and the smith met them there. The learned, the wealthy, the powerful, the adventurous; all who traveled from home had to come to the smith's forge and as he fastened the loose shoes of their horses these travelers left with the smith some of their news and views and the smith in turn gave them his own. From them he gained for his neighbors the news from the rest of England and in return through these travelers he gave to the rest of England the news of his own vicinage. He was the real genesis of the mail, the newsletter, the telegraph, the newspaper of to-day, for all these are but as the grimy smith then was, the world's means of knowing what the rest of the world is doing. In the democracy of his shop the smith learned to stand unabashed before the great men with whom he was thrown in contact and he gathered from them the lesson that when they came to his shop he was the peer of the greatest, for his brain and hand and skill were necessary to enable wealth and power, learning and pleasure to journey onward. The smith's shop was a kindergarten of democracy. But he was more than a mere news purveyor, for in the smith's work we have the germ of that quick, decisive initiative that is the keynote of the world's modern progress. Other artisans, the weaver, the carpenter, the stone cutter, the cobbler, might pause in their work to plan and think out the next step, but the smith, when the iron was hot, must, then instantly and then only, strike true and strike hard. So, too, in that subtlest of work, the tempering of his metals, he must think deeply and observe closely the effect of the great laws of nature, the chilling, the tempering, and treating of metal by the primary elements of heat and cold. Sudden and slow chilling, the use of oils and water for tempers



and the many thermo-chemical problems that to-day puzzle the brain of great metallurgists. It is no fanciful picture that sees in this long line of thoughtful, successful, sturdy, English blacksmiths, keenly alive to the events of the day, mixers alike with the great and the lowly, students of nature's laws, practical in the fruitage of their work, the prototype of the smith's descendant. It is no fancy to say that in this long and sturdy line of Saxon Franklins that our own Benjamin was then being fitted to be in touch with the common folk and to know their lives and to stand unabashed before kings. It is no imagination that he had a heritage that naturally led to a study of the great laws of nature. No fancy that the forge of the English roadside smith produced a colonial Franklin stove in universal use, the best drawing chimney of his day, the man who, when the time came to strike, did so and who drove his blows quick and hard. Such was the heritage from his British fathers, of this man who, at fifty-four years of age, called himself, as we have seen, a Briton, and who regarded America as the seat of England's empire.

And what the heritage from his mother? She was the daughter of Captain Peter Folger, another British emigrant. From them Franklin inherited a blood of toleration that made him intolerant of New England's intolerance. Of Peter Folger, Parton wrote: "He was one of the few early settlers of Massachusetts who felt the iniquity of persecuting the Baptists and Quakers for opinion's sake and he lifted his voice against that vulgar heathenism. It was in the dark era of 1676 when Quakers and Baptists were still in peril of being publicly whipped, branded and banished into the wilderness that honest Peter Folger wrote his good doggerel poem, 'A Looking Glass of the Times,' in which those outrages were pronounced to be the sin of New England for which a just God was visiting her with Indian Wars and massacres. Dr. Franklin was proud to reckon among his progenitors a man capable of thus rebuking his generation and he quoted some of Peter Folger's roughest words with approbation." It was



this inherited spirit of intolerance, this sacred right in sacred things, of each man to think out for himself the great problem of his relations to God that made Franklin begin to feel he was out of place in New England. Indeed, we learn that as a lad of seventeen he was "a little obnoxious to the growing party" and that "his indiscreet disputations about religion" had come to be "pointed out with horror by good people and as infidel and atheist." Franklin's father meant him to be a clergyman, writing, he had resolved to devote him "as a tithe of his sons to the service of the church." I speak in no disrespectful words of this noble purpose, but one cannot refrain from a sense of the incongruous when we picture Franklin forcing his unorthodox breadth of view into the narrow spiritual horizon of an orthodox New England clergyman of that day. Splendid as such a clergyman's work was in many ways, it is clear that Franklin's mind and Franklin's soul would have dwarfed and dwindled in the narrow localism of the New England theocracy of that day. He was meant for humanity and not for New England and Providence led him away from his birthplace to a life place that could better fit him for that work. His restive spirit was out of sympathy with the religious life around him. His inherited love of freedom of thought for others claimed a like right of thought-freedom for himself. The New England religious life in which he found himself was essentially self-centered and the working out of one's own salvation its keynote. And just as in a different form the selfish, self-centered monasticism of an earlier age had driven Luther to the broader altruism of looking out for the future of others besides himself so it is just as clear that the broad visioned, free thinking, altruistic work of one like Franklin, who afterwards said that, "the highest form of worship is service to man," lay elsewhere than in his birthplace. Let us turn then from that birthplace, where to him the times were out of joint, to the environment which welcomed him as a footsore, friendless and hungry lad of seventeen and in which after the world had showered its highest



honors upon him his body was laid to rest and remaineth unto this day.

When young Franklin left Massachusetts I ask the candid reader of history to tell me to what colony could he turn save to those tolerant Quakers against whose persecution his sturdy grandfather Folger had dared to raise a solitary voice of protest. The colony of William Penn was above all others in the new world a place where freedom of thought and freedom of speech were as free as free men could make them. In that colony there was actual liberty to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience. That liberty and the conscience and the freedom were meant not only for the founders' race and church but equally for men of all other races and all other churches. That colony was in unique contrast to each and all of its sisters. Each of them had been substantially the outgrowth of a single race and a single religion and it is no reflection on any of those races or religions to say, what every truthful historian recognizes, that where any race, and especially where any one religion, has the power of monopoly, it rarely, if ever, fails to exert it. In the seventy odd years that had passed since American colonization had its beginning in the settlement at Jamestown, the Quakers had learned the lesson in their experience both in European despotism and American freedom, so-called, that all types of religion which were dominant in those European countries and the American colonies, however they differed in dogma or practice, united in one common universal fact, that they were all solidly united as members of a church militant when it came to handling Quakers. The Quaker had suffered from persecution by them all, but with a vastness of generosity and with a liberality then unknown in the religious world, William Penn caught the over-looked spirit of a Master's love that "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things and endureth all things," and opened up his colony without reservation to all races and to all religions. "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." And so it came



that when William Penn set foot on the banks of the Delaware, he then and there for the first time dedicated and consecrated to real freedom of thought American soil as it had never been dedicated before. When the real history of the founders of the American colonies shall be written it will be found that in broadminded outlook, in the catholicity of humanity, in just appreciation of the rights of all men, there was no founder on the American coast to compare with William Penn. The heart of humanity everywhere instantly responded to the generous spirit of the Quaker's invitation. The English, the Welsh, the Irish, the German, the Dutch, the Scotch—all responded as none of these races had ever done in the case of any other colony. Whole communities of the old world were depopulated to create replicas of the old mother land in the several counties of Pennsylvania. And so it was not only in races but in religions also. The church of Rome, the church of England, the follower of Luther, the adherent of Calvin, the Moravian, the Dunkard, men of all religions and men of no religion, found for the first time under God's sky and on American soil what real religious freedom actually was. It is a noteworthy fact that no colony had up to that time attracted the mighty trekking of those two great strains of strong blood, the German and the Scotch, a movement that made whole sections of Pennsylvania, another Germany and Scotland, as did this invitation of Penn. There could be no doubt that such a colony, whose cornerstone was that freedom of thought which other colonial builders had rejected, would foster intellectual growth and progress of every kind. In this colonial atmosphere of tolerance, art, science, learning rooted and ripened until Pennsylvania became the thought-leader among the colonies. The intellectual as well as the topographical keystone and cornerstone of the nation. Her medical schools were the foremost in the colonies and attracted students from all others. Indeed, the advance of medicine and its kindred branch of chemistry can be shown by the fact that when one of the oldest of New England colleges took the then novel step of



teaching chemistry it had to send Benjamin Silliman to Philadelphia for a year's study, as the only place in America where he could acquire such knowledge. And thus it came about that the first hospital in America was established there and Pennsylvania's metropolis and then capital assumed the novel duty of cleaning the streets, a pioneer step in which we find the beginning of that great field of municipal hygiene and sanitation that to-day is the most serious duty of municipal life,—a step whose progressive influence has crossed the seas to drive yellow fever from Havana and Manilla and made possible the Panama Canal. Time permits me but to suggest to your minds the many evidences of the progressive life of colonial Pennsylvania that may be studied by anyone interested in that subject. In our own profession the phrase, "a Philadelphia lawyer," became proverbial all over the land—and a tolerant community is wont to produce great men in the law—and the broad atmosphere of freedom the Pennsylvania lawyer imbibed is best shown by the fact that when that great question of jury right arose in the neighboring colony of New York where the judges who were then under the power of recall by the king sought to control free speech by holding that a crown-chosen judge but not the jury could pass on the libellous character of publications aimed at the sovereignty on which the judge's tenure depended, it was to Pennsylvania the lovers of liberty turned for help, and in response to that Macedonian cry, our liberty taught colony sent from the atmosphere of freedom Andrew Hamilton who in that case established the great principle that a jury could pass on the character of the libel.

In this stimulating field of Penn the apprentice boy found kindred spirits and in it he ripened to early and rich fruitage. His versatility was remarkable and in every sphere his success was as marked as it was rapid. In this broadened environment he was constrained to broaden and in turn he helped to broaden it. Coupled with a speculative mind was an intense common sense that led him by his industry, his thrift



and his foresight to gather at a very early age a fortune for those days, but when he had gathered it, with a breadth of view that affords an envied model to many a man who has made his whole life subservient to money getting, Franklin, with a philosophic resolve to make money his servant instead of his master, withdrew from active business life and gave himself to his colony, his country and his fellow men. Having gained a living from his country, he turned to living for that country. Through *Poor Richard's* wise sayings, his almanac and other writings Franklin became the greatest human teacher the world has probably ever known in the people's industry, in leading them to hardheaded common sense in the commonplace walks of everyday practical life. He was the first American writer whose works were widely circulated abroad. Indeed, in their time they were more widely read than any book save the Bible. His scientific research covered every field, electricity, ocean phenomena, medicine, chemistry, heat and cold. His great mind seemed to grasp all spheres of human knowledge. The other day I was surprised to find that he was the first intelligent observer and writer about the Gulf Stream and indeed that he actually gave the Gulf Stream its name. I was equally amazed to read letters of his in which he prophetically brought before the medical profession the value of open air in the treatment of disease. Indeed, the open air treatment of tuberculosis and many other practical benefits are all clearly outlined in Franklin's writings. That it has taken a great profession more than a century to realize the truth of what the layman Franklin told them in plain words shows the prophetic type of his great mind. He lived not only in his own time but a century beyond it. He was the father of modern electricity, and we who think of him only as observing the phenomena of electricity through his kite lose sight of the intensely practical nature of the man. The lightning rod was his practical suggestion for protection from lightning and I find him speaking in one of his letters of "An old religionist whom I had relieved in a paralytic case by electricity, and who being afraid I



should grow proud upon it sent me his serious though rather impertinent caution." The scientific study of heat and his practical bent of mind led him to invent the widely used Franklin stove and to devise a form of chimney that came into general use, but in these as in the copywriting of his books, Franklin refused to avail himself of any personal protection or gain. His public life and private practice rang true to his motto that "the highest form of worship is service to man." He started the first public library in Philadelphia. He was instrumental in founding in that city the academy from which the University of Pennsylvania grew, just as later he came to Lancaster and helped lay the cornerstone of this college which bears his name. He organized the first anti-slavery society in the world and as its president, and fittingly in this colony of freedom where the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the flag had their birthplace, he wrote and signed the first petition ever presented to Congress for the abolition of slavery. Neither slavery of mind or slavery of body found lodgment in Franklin's brain or heart. During all this time he took an active part in public service. He was not of that type of men who become public men because they make themselves public. The simple fact was that when anything of a public nature was to be done the public demand was for Franklin's leadership, moderation, common sense and ability. His leadership was not of the self-sought or self-announced type. It was a leadership that came from the conviction of the people that he was fitted and needed to lead. Like Moses and Luther, like Washington and Lincoln, like every great leader that is truly great, he distrusted his ability to lead. His call came from the nation and not from himself. He was one of the great founders of our mail service and his far-seeing mind caught the benefits of a wider exchange of environment and social intercourse as a uniting factor among the colonies. His swarthy forbear, the English smith at the cross-roads, had engraven that in his nature. He attended the meetings of delegates from other colonies and his



wise counsels contributed greatly to furthering the common interest in matters of common concern. He took strong grounds on the uniting of the colonies for their protection on the frontier in the French and Indian wars. In the Braddock campaign his services were invaluable in the practical and vital point of securing wagon trains through his influence with the Pennsylvania farmers. His interest in that campaign, and the same remark may be made of Washington, showed that these two great far-seeing minds, representing as they did the two great far-seeing commonwealths of Virginia and Pennsylvania behind them—the two commonwealths that won the gateway to the west and in the gaining of the west laid the real foundation of American extension—Franklin and Washington both realized as few men did that the great future of America lay in the Mississippi Basin. In a prophetic letter to Lord Kames, which I have referred to before in speaking of the taking of that country and Canada from the French, Franklin said: “I am therefore by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it all the country from the *St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will in another century be filled with British people*. Britain itself will become vastly more populous by the immense increase of its commerce. The Atlantic sea will be covered with her trading vessels and your naval power thence continually increasing will extend your influence around the whole world.” At a later day and in the midst of the Revolution, when the American Congress by a vote to which there were only three recorded votes in the negative advised that John Jay agree to a treaty with Spain by which the mouth of the Mississippi should be forever closed as a free gateway to the sea, Franklin summed up the controversy in a nut shell of homely common sense—“Poor as we are, yet as I know we shall be rich, I would rather agree with them to buy at a great price the whole of their (Spain’s) right on the Mississippi, than sell a drop of its waters. *A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my street door.*” In truth, his mind, reaching so far into the future, had so grasped the



possibilities of the west, and he had become so imbued through Braddock's mistakes of Britain's inability to effect its winning, that he became convinced the colonies must win it themselves. We accordingly find that his first public mission abroad was to England in 1757 and its purpose was to secure the taxation of Penn's proprietary lands in order to give Pennsylvania the means to carry on the French and Indian War. From this time on Franklin spent the greater part of his time in Europe and away from his family. It was a sacrifice of private life to public duty, and at the close of his life Franklin said, as many another man can who has given himself to public service, "They engrossed the prime of my life, they have eaten my flesh and seem resolved now to pick my bones." From 1762 to 1767 he lived continuously in England trying to secure a repeal of laws that were obnoxious to the colonies and later his duty forced him to spend from 1776 to 1785 in France, where he succeeded in effecting an alliance with that country whereby he obtained the French troops and the French money that, coupled with the financing of Morris, enabled Washington to fight the Revolution. After Washington and Rochambeau had compelled the surrender of Cornwallis, Franklin remained two years in Paris and largely as the result of his work the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783, which was the verdict and judgment of the Revolution. By it Franklin secured not only the independence of the thirteen colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, but he gained what was equally important, a surrender from England of the Mississippi Basin as far west as the Father of Waters—a diplomatic territorial victory on which, through the gain of the Mississippi Valley, the future greatness of the American nation then depended and now rests.

This hurried sketch gives us the principal facts in Franklin's life and from it we pass to a necessarily brief consideration of the effect of these things on the make-up of the man. His life naturally divides itself into three periods: first, the pre-Revolutionary, or formative one; second, the Revolution-



ary, or effective period; and third, the post-Revolutionary, or reflective period.

Turning first to the pre-Revolutionary period of Franklin's life what strikes one especially is Franklin's essentially British make-up at that time. A Briton, but a Briton modified by colonial environment. He was, as we noted above, the prototype of that great army of British colonists who, under a wiser motherhood than Britain gave to Franklin, are to-day making Canada, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and India what they are, and who in turn in the reflex of colonial spirit are doing so much to mould and make England herself; for the English colonies are in truth to-day wielding a greater influence on England than she is on them. For mark you, the great tide of English emigration to her colonies is to-day as then but the race acknowledgment that in the problems of life's betterment and opportunity, the colony gives more promise of the answer to ideals than does the motherland. This same relation, that of a colonist convinced that the land for him was the colony, but recognizing still his devotion to the motherland and reverence for her institutions, was Franklin's state of mind during the pre-Revolutionary period. But the England of that day had not yet learned the lesson she had to learn later through the loss of her oldest colonial child. To Franklin, the loyal British colonist, came the quiet, unrecognized but insistent call of his new world country for self government. Had England heeded that call from men like Franklin and Washington, had it even given an answering echo to their calls, the colonial agitators of that day might have agitated in vain and separation from England been postponed for a generation. The Franklins, the Washingtons and the Marshalls might have died loyal colonists and the work of the Revolution been left to the Websters, the Jacksons and the Calhouns of the next generation. But destiny had filled its time. A headstrong ruler, a foolish cabinet, a failure of the old world to recognize the signs of the times in the new, drove with the irresistible logic of events the British colonist Frank-



lin out of his pre-Revolutionary period into becoming a nation founder in the next. The stern logic of events was driving Franklin—for he came to separation slowly and unwillingly—from his birthright as a British colonial, and he was forced to become the first great American whom the new world gave to the old. For the truth is that Franklin was meant for the universe. In the economy of humanity he belonged to the world and to humanity in its fullest and freest expression. It has well been said: "Benjamin Franklin was the first American born on this side of the water who was meant for the universe. His mere existence was a sort of omen. It was impossible to suppose that a people who could produce a man of that scope and intellect could long remain in a condition of political dependence. It would have been preposterous to have had Franklin die a colonist and go down to posterity, not as an American, but as a colonial Englishman. He was a microcosm of the coming nation of the United States." And so, by the silent march of the nation, which only the thoughtful see, and for which only the thoughtful prepare, the great onward march of events carried Franklin out of the colonial pre-Revolutionary stage of his life into the era of his middle life, the Revolutionary or effective period. And how effective? He is the only American whose name is signed to those three great instruments, the Declaration of Independence, the Treaty of Paris and the Constitution. By the first he helped save democracy from autocracy. By the second he helped make the title of democracy to democracy more absolute. By the third he sought to save democracy from itself.

The three men who, to my mind, were the bed-rock creators of American independence were George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, who, as noted, laid the corner-stone of this college, and Robert Morris, who was one of its first board of trustees. Without the work of each of these three men in their several spheres, no one of the others could have made independence a reality. Washington at the head of the army; Morris repleting the scant war-chest on which the army lived;



and Franklin bringing hands across the sea in French alliance, French gold and French armies—these were the fighting and sustaining factors on which independence was secured. The Adamses, the Patrick Henrys, the John Hancocks, with their courageous agitation, were the men who made America independent *on paper*; but Morris, Franklin and Washington were men who made the independence on paper independence *in fact*. It was all well enough to refer to the imaginary “three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty,” but this phrase was but a sounding brass and timbling cymbal. The scant three thousand who shivered around the huts up yonder on the Pennsylvania hills of Valley Forge knew the three millions armed in the holy cause only netted about three thousand, and Franklin felt it necessary to get the places of some of the three million supplied by Rochambeau and his thousands of Frenchmen, who later shared with Washington the glory and credit of the actual results at Yorktown. The herculean efforts of Morris were required to feed and clothe an army with money that was so worthless that to-day we unconsciously revere his unrequited services when we speak of a thing as not worth a continental. But these three, Washington at the camp fire; Franklin at the council table; and Morris at the war chest—made up that on which all wars are successfully waged, courageous fighting, wise financing and diplomatic diplomacy, and the connection of two of these great men with this college makes a reference to their great service timely. And in that connection I cannot forbear saying that I trust the day will come when in front of Independence Square, and on the side of Washington’s statue, will be placed a fitting recognition of Robert Morris, who so loyally and unselfishly strove to make Washington’s work possible.

In the post-Revolutionary era of Franklin’s life came his supreme work in helping to make the Constitution. He had signed the Declaration of Independence, which had called self-government into existence. He had signed the Treaty of Paris which gave self-government a place of habitation and he



had signed the Constitution, which he and those who labored with him thought was the best way of insuring that self government should not perish from the earth.

The world's history is a series of the swings of the pendulum to different fields of thought. Between the limits of those swings in the pendulum's path lie those ranges that mark a nation's changed view point. One hundred and twenty-five years ago Washington and Franklin and the fathers who had freed themselves from monarchical government control found themselves confronted by the problem of creating a new form of government. They went about it slowly, deliberately, thoughtfully, and as you will see from Franklin's life, prayerfully. They realized that there were some inherent weaknesses in a pure democracy that had in the end destroyed Greece and Rome. For these reasons they distrusted the principle of an entire nation governing itself without representatives. On the other hand, they saw the inherent weakness of monarchy was the arbitrary and selfish government of an absolute ruler like George III. To avoid these two extremes they determined to form a constitution and make it their chart. The significance of the constitution as the real foundation of the new country was at once recognized and liberty loving people everywhere felt that a new era had come into the field of national government in a constitutional government. That constitution has proved the model from which liberty loving peoples everywhere have drawn inspiration and forms of government. When the South American republics were to be builded; when South Africa was to be federalized—it was to the constitution of the United States both countries turned for a model. Its principles are interwoven in the systems of the great English colonies and in its struggles for what are best for government in the new world, China, the oldest nation of the old world, reached out and found guidance in the chart that Franklin had helped draw and Lincoln helped save. And we have today the novel situation that when, after one hundred and twenty-five years of trial of constitutional government, some



of our people are becoming distrustful of it, the oldest and wisest nation of all, to wit, the Chinese, after trying everything else for some four thousand years, has come to the conclusion our Constitution is the best form and they are modeling from it. It remains for time to determine whether the American experience of a century, or the Chinese of forty, shall prove the wiser. During the century and more that followed the making of the Constitution our country has grown great under it. It has proven the one thing around which the men of the north rallied to save the Union and recalling that constitution the men of the south were content to come back into the Union, feeling that was the one thing above all others to protect them after their return, for the south had but to recall Lincoln's assurance to them in his first inaugural that "all the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions in the Constitution." For a century the pendulum of constitutional regard swung to the limit of reverence for that sublime document which had made and preserved us a nation. It had proved itself to be the holy writ of self-government and it had proved so because it based self-government on government of self. But we have come upon a time when the pendulum has swung to the other side. The popular thought to-day seems to be that constitutions are hindrances instead of helps to government, that instead of securing liberty they are denying it. But in spite of these changes in constitutional regard, let us remember, my friends, that though the pendulum swings the old clock does not. The figures on its face still bear true witness to the unchanging law of time. And as there are certain truths in science that no change of opinion can alter, so there are certain elements in human nature—and government is simply human nature applied on a large scale—which are unchangeably fixed. And of all unchanging things the most changeless thing in human nature is self. And self and its selfishness are only aggravated when the selfishness of individuals becomes the accumulated force of the selfishness of a



nation. Let us stop for a moment and ask ourselves what is true self-government by a people. It is not alone the right of a people to be self-governed, but it is the duty also of a people to govern itself, for true self-government is after all government of self by self. The self must not only govern but it must be willing to be governed, and this being so it follows that true self-government by a nation is nothing more and nothing less than the principle of self-government in the individual life collectively applied to self-government by a nation. Do I make that clear? Let me illustrate. The proof of a really great man's strength of character is his willingness and ability to protect himself against his own selfishness. To do this the greater and stronger a man is, the more carefully and thoroughly does he place limits on himself and lay down for his own conduct in life certain limitations, physical, moral and mental. These self-imposed limitations are the Rubicons across which he can only go at the sacrifice of his real manhood. Now our fathers knew how they as colonists had suffered from the rulers bound by no constitutional limitations. They knew from painful experience that the power to exercise power will breed abuse of power, unless in some way restrained. They knew that men in the aggregate would in forming a nation at times become just as selfish and unjust as the unlimited individual monarch would become. They realized that selfishness was so deep-grained in all men that unless limited it would show itself in men collectively as well as singly. That this was true in a single man who was called a king or in a collection of men, who were all rulers or kings, which was a pure democracy. And recognizing this danger in a single man, which they had seen in England, and knowing it existed in collections of men, which they had seen in the downfall of Greece and Rome, they reasoned thus: We are considering the experiment of a nation being its own ruler and to do so we must arrange for a ruler of some kind. So while in reality and truth this is a government of the whole people, yet as all men comprising the whole people will not



likely agree on all things, we will establish the principle of a majority rule, namely, we will agree that for the time being a majority shall be the ruler of the nation; but inasmuch as the minority, who are not the rulers of the nation, must be protected, for they are a part of the people, and inasmuch as those who are in the majority may in time grow selfish and do wrong to the helpless minority, we will, following that reasonable course which commends itself to us as individuals, protect our minority selves from our self-governing majority by this constitutional chart, which so long as we continue it shall bind and limit that majority of ourselves so that it cannot wrong the minority of ourselves. They said that if England had had a constitution and King George had been limited thereby he would not have done those things which in our declaration we charge him with doing and which caused this revolution, viz., violation of our rights of person and property; taxation without representation; and to quote other words of the Declaration of Independence, and which it will surprise many of us to know was one of the causes of the Revolution, namely, that the judges of that day were subject to the recall of the king or to use the words of our Declaration, King George would not have "made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their office." When, then, our fathers proposed by a constitution to put certain limitations upon themselves were they unpatriotic and undemocratic? When Franklin and those with him who had won freedom through much tribulation and with a hangman's rope around their necks if they failed, were they despising that freedom, when as free men they in effect said—We are now so free that we can afford to surrender some of our freedom for the common good. Is a stream restrained of its freedom if in its course a dam be built and its confined waters made to serve some useful purpose? Is a man who fences his field any the less enjoying his own because the fence which keeps his neighbor's cattle out also keeps his own within proper bounds? Were these wise men like Franklin not applying to their govern-



ment what you and I, if we are following Franklin's example, are doing every day in our own lives? Are you doing to-day whatever you have power to do? or are you voluntarily placing upon yourself limitations and restrictions which you observe in all your intercourse with your fellows? The old truth is equally true of men and of nations, that no man liveth unto himself and no nation, or the majority of no nation, lives of and for itself alone. This civilization of ours, the business life of a community, the happiness of family life—all would drift into unworkable confusion if each of us did not voluntarily place upon himself limitations which we will not pass although we have the power to pass them. And if this deep ingrained principle of self-imposed limitation is the true safeguard of individual life when and at what point, tell me, can that principle be safely abandoned when self-controlled individuals unite themselves in a self-controlled government? If for any one man to revoke and recall the self-imposed limitations of his own life is to undermine the foundation stones of his individual character, when does the undermining process of the character of the nation disappear when a hundred millions of people, associated in the form of government, revoke and recall their self-imposed national limitations? No, no; the safety of the individual man lies in a self-controlled individualism, no more and no less than the safety of a self-governing people rests on constitutionally established self-control. And in so holding we make no fetish of constitutions. They are not laws of the Medes and Persians for which there is no change, for a constitution wisely makes provision for its own change, but mark you, in a constitutional way. This constitutional power of constitutional change has been and always will be exercised. The closed door of our federal constitution has already opened fifteen times to welcome fifteen different amendments during its history. The state of Pennsylvania has had four different constitutions since the colonial times. The great state of Ohio is now changing hers, and already possessing this salutary power of change and amendment when



changed conditions demand them, and provided with a method of change that involves deliberation, argument, patience and forbearance, can we regard as necessary any other method of constitutional change? Indeed, my friends, I cannot help but feel we are all getting unduly stirred up, if not a trifle hysterical on this question of constitutional restriction as applied to the question of the constitutionality of laws. An impression has been fostered that every helpful law in some way runs the risk of being declared unconstitutional. The mischiefs in that respect are not as bad as we imagine. To illustrate I venture the thought that the United States to-day is the most law-burdened nation on the globe. As soon as a man is elected to a legislative body, he feels it his solemn duty to propose and have some new laws passed. I presume there are in force in the forty-odd states of the union to-day more than 150,000 laws. That means an average of about 3,000 to each state, with the Acts of Congress not included. This estimate is moderate, for I find that in the state of Pennsylvania alone the legislature of last year added 466 laws to the ones we already had. These 150,000 laws stand on our statute books to-day as enforceable constitutional measures, more in number, I venture to suggest, than the laws of all Europe combined, and when some one is complaining to us about constitutions and their injustice in thwarting legislation, let us ask that person to tell us how many of the 150,000 laws have been held unconstitutional, and if he knows anything about the facts he will find the percentage of acts stricken down as unconstitutional on the far side of the decimal point. You will pardon me for injecting this personal testimony, but I presume it is a fair example of the practical experience of many brother judges. In the twenty years of my judicial life the constitutionality of many laws, state and federal, has been raised before me, but I have never once enjoyed that pleasure which courts are popularly supposed to glory in, namely, of holding a law was unconstitutional. It is true, that here and there in the thousands of courts and judges our country has, there have



been and there will be unwise, mistaken decisions, and such will continue to be the case so long as to err is human. It is possible that the changed economical, commercial and social conditions of modern life have not been duly appreciated by all judges and that there are men on the bench to-day whose mental vision is not of the breadth that we would desire it, but it is equally true that there are only the same differences of temperament and viewpoint on the bench that there are among physicians and clergymen and all branches of professional men. But in all these professions, the mistakes that are made, the faults of physicians and clergymen, and teachers and judges, will be found to be more often the fault of the particular man who applies, or thinks he applies, the law, the gospel, the text-book, the medicine, rather than the fault of the law, the gospel, or the medical systems themselves. Mistakes in regard to the constitution! Why a man's own constitution is a settled thing, but whether that man's constitution shall have the breath of life breathed into it by one physician, who will save the man's life, or whether that constitution will go to the grave under another physician, is not a purely constitutional question, but its solution depends on the wisdom of the man in selecting his own physician who is to handle his constitution. But because some physicians have not been skilful and some judges have not been wise, in dealing with constitutions, let us not permit the unskilfulness of the one or the unwisdom of the other to unwisely lead us to give up our constitutions, physical or governmental, entirely, or to overlook the fact that the vast majority of doctors heal and the vast majority of judges help men to the enjoyment and security of life, liberty and happiness. And just as there are men called to the ministry who have been called in a whisper, we will find men in judicial work who have been called to that work in an equally low voice, and I venture the thought that if the care in the original call were greater and more pronounced, the less we would hear of the necessity of subsequent recall, for after all, the belated recall is but a confession of the



earlier mistake in the call. And this leads me to a word of cheerful optimism to you college men who are entering on life. Take with you the cheery spirit of cheery optimism that will refuse to be led into gloomy pessimism by the wrong-doing of the few. Remember, my dear young friends, that the great mass of your fellow men and fellow women are as honest and as square as you, and if you stand and act on that platform you can rest assured your neighbors are about as good as you. When old Elijah's pessimistic eyes were opened he found there were many thousand of his unsuspected countrymen whose knees were as stiff as his when it came to bowing to Baal. And just remember too that just as these seven thousand had probably said nothing about their virtue because Elijah had not heard of them, so now there is a reserve force of unheralded virtue and righteousness in this country of yours that you never suspect until it vents itself in acts. That unwritten law, unpublished in statutes, but graven on the hearts of American men, "women and children first," gave this country in the case of the "Titanic," an insight into the unheralded moral qualities of our people that, like deep rivers, flow quiet and strong through the nation's life. No, no; we must not conclude that everything is going to the bad because a few individual men and women do so and their shortcomings are heralded all over the land. I often think as I read of the wrongdoing here and there all over the country with which the columns of our papers are largely taken up of what an infinitesimal part of the nation's life they evidence. For one cashier who violates his trust and becomes a defaulter I can point you to thousands of cashiers over the country who to-day command the respect and esteem of their fellow men and are more faithfully watching and safeguarding funds of others than they are their own. For one woman who has strayed from the path of virtue and whose sin fills the morbid columns of papers devoted to that side of life in some scandalous divorce proceeding I can, thank God, point you to millions of homes in this country where quiet women are true to the teachings of childhood, to



the loyalty to husband, to the motherhood of the family. For one poor fellow in a gray suit who had yielded to temptation and pilfered your mail and whose derelictions have been made the subject of a sensational article I can point you to thousands upon thousands of his fellow carriers who, in every city and hamlet in this country, are incessantly doing their daily, unheralded, unpublished duty. For one exceptional case that is delayed in our courts, for one suit where, through the stern requirements of the law, the miscarriage of a jury, or the lack of knowledge of the judge, an injustice has been done and widely commented upon with a view to undermining the confidence in the administration of justice I can point out to you thousands upon thousands of cases where law, jury and judge have worked even and exact justice, no account of which ever enters into the story you read in the public print, and for one man on the bench whose actions have been such as to call forth public criticism I can point to, from one end of this land to the other, thousands and thousands of just judges whose lives have been as pure and just as they have been quiet and unheralded in the public print. The truth is that only the exceptional, only the abnormal ever finds the light of publicity. Error, sin, wrong-doing are what interest us, and we pay no attention to the quiet routine and daily duty faithfully performed. I have often felt that if a paper and magazine ignored the mistakes of men and simply recorded the quiet doing of duty in life it could not exist for no one would care to read it. So my young college friends, in summing up the true significance of the sensationalism of the day, do not in your enthusiasm overlook the overwhelming mass of virtue, uprightness, integrity, in the life and work of the uncounted majority of our own people. The truth is that the great mass of people want to do right and that those who deliberately do wrong, either in public or private affairs, are in a small minority. And in all these matters the great need of recall is for us—each one of us—to recall ourselves to the higher plane of life and to remember that the streets of Damascus



were kept clean because every man in Damascus cleaned the street in front of his own home.

But to recall myself to the subject in hand—full of years, honored as no man has ever been honored before by the world in such varied fields, recognized as a man universally wise, touching the varied fields of literature, statesmanship, science, education and practically every phase of human life, Franklin came through it all the same modest, simple minded, great man he had been all his life. With a head as clear as a sage's he retained a heart as simple as a child's. A man of strong views himself, one who would naturally call forth strong opposition to his views, he had no personal enemies in public or private life. He possessed that wonderful poise of fairness and justice that lifted him out of the plane of personal antagonism. In writing John Jay he said: "I have, as you observe, some enemies in England, but they are my enemies as an American. I have also two or three in America, who are my enemies as a minister, but I thank God there are not in the whole world any who are my enemies as a man, for by His grace through a long life I have been enabled so to conduct myself that there does not exist a human being who can justly say 'Ben Franklin has wronged me.'" He had that wonderful faculty which Lincoln possessed of always stating his adversary's case so fairly and his own so strongly that any sense of personal antagonism disappeared in the atmosphere of his earnest effort to reach the truth. Like Lincoln, too, he had that keen sense of humor which both used with kindness of heart, but with merciless logic, to illustrate and puncture the false reasoning of those opposed to them. Indeed, it is said that to Franklin, instead of Jefferson, would have been entrusted the writing of the Declaration of Independence but his colleagues feared he would inject some of his humor into it.

There is another thought in connection with the forming of that constitution that we do well to bear in mind in connection with Franklin. In these present days when men seem to



be groping for new things in government, when the self-sufficiency of each man essays to solve every governmental question from the standpoint of individual selfishness and to dogmatically put forward his views as the only views, it does us all good to recall that splendid picture of the venerable and beloved Franklin then over eighty years of age, rising in his place in the convention that was then forming the Constitution. In convincing words he told his colleagues that for weeks they had been unable to agree on anything; that they had been blindly groping about examining all forms of government and liking none. In convincing words he reminded them that in the beginning of their struggle with Britain that they had had daily prayers in that room for divine protection; that their prayers had been answered and he added: "All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor." And then turning to them, this great man, against whom the cry of irreligious was often raised, said: "And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? Or do we imagine we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live the more convincing proof I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men. And, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writing, that, 'Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that built it.' I firmly believe this and I also believe that without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel." In the history of government building I know no picture so sublime, no words so eloquent, as those in which the wisest man of his day and generation moved the makers of the Constitution to implore God's wisdom and guidance before all other business at the opening of each day's work, unless it be those great words of Lincoln, as on that February morning, when he left his Springfield neighbors on his mission to prayerfully save the Constitution which Frank-



lin had prayerfully founded: "I now leave you not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task upon me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that divine being who ever attended him I cannot succeed; with that assistance I cannot fail." As we look back on these men, who made and saved our Constitution, Washington on his knees in the thickets of Valley Forge, Franklin moving for daily prayers in Independence Hall and Lincoln invoking the guidance of Washington's God, may not the thoughtful, prayerful hearts of the nation voice the petition that every hand that seeks to change a constitution made under God's guidance will as reverently seek that same guidance in changing "what God hath wrought."

And there is another great principle for which Franklin and the men of his day contended, which I think can well be made the subject of a thoughtful recall. That was the principle of representative government. No purer or more devoted friend of the people has ever lived in American history than Benjamin Franklin. No man was closer to his fellow men than he. His democracy was unquestioned and he retained his simplicity, his humanity and his neighborliness wherever he was. But with all these there was no man who believed more firmly in a representative system of government than he. Let us think who it was that gave us our independence, our Constitution, our country. There were three millions of people in the United States in those days, but the great mass of them were too busy, too much engrossed in their own affairs to join in the winning of a new world from England, and of creating a new government. We are accustomed to think of our whole people of that day as taking part in the Revolution. Such was not the case. Those three million of people were wise enough in their day and generation to stick to the representative principle and that representation was confined to such small numbers that it finally dwindled to a representative Continental Congress and to George Washington and the few thousand men at Valley Forge. It was in



the latter representative body on those bleak hills, that Washington in the bitterness of his soul learned that the government must be created on the representative principle and that John Marshall, who came to Valley Forge a Virginian and left it an American, learned those great principles of a representative government that gave the Constitution vitality, a vitality that has been based on one hundred years of use of the representative system. We do well to recall that it was men who believed in a representative form of government who gave us our country, who gave us our Constitution, who saved our country from disunion through the Constitution, and who have made this country under the Constitution a mighty people. Let us remember that the government "of the people, by the people and for the people" for which Lincoln pled was the constitutional government "four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent." And let those who would change the representative form of our government take heed to the warning Webster gave at the laying of the corner stone of the monument on Bunker Hill: "We are placed at the head of the system of *representative* and *popular* government. If in our case the *representative* system ultimately fail, *popular government* must be pronounced impossible." The principle of the representative system is not based on aristocracy or on a governing class, but on the simple, sound, common sense principle that the people select representatives in directors who in turn select school teachers to teach their children; synods and conventions and representative men or bodies, who in turn elect and ordain clergymen to instruct them in matters religious; schools, examining boards and other representative bodies, who shall qualify physicians for medicine, plumbers for plumbing, lawyers for law, and so on throughout all the occupations of life. It is the principle on which every church is run to-day by selecting vestries, elders, deacons and other bodies who, in a representative capacity, select other representatives to do the work of the congregation. It is the principle in every bank by which the



stockholders select directors, who in turn select president, cashier and those who do its executive work. This Constitution of ours was based on the theory of a wise use in certain ways of the direct power of the people and a wise use in others of the judgment and discretion of representative officials to carry out portions of the work. They believed that the representative system fixed responsibility on those chosen and that the obligation of responsibility was created, fostered and stimulated by making men their representatives. They observed in their own every day life that indifferently good men were turned into strong men by having the responsibility of fatherhood put upon them. They said that a man who was put to do a job was more likely to find some way of doing it than a man who was simply saying how it ought to be done but without doing it. They believed that what was left as anybody's business generally ended up in being nobody's duty. In fact, they believed that government was like everything else—it would not work itself, and that either all the people had to do all the work or else they had to select some representatives to do it for them. They felt that the true principle was to select representatives and then sternly look to them for results. And wherever all the people have acted on this wholesome principle, not the mere selection of representatives, but the stern holding by the people of the people's representatives responsible for results, representative government had been and will be a government of the people. The success of government depends not on the wiping out of representatives, but in that vigilant interest of the people in seeing the people's representatives do their duty. And if the interest of the people is so lax that it will not compel its representatives to do their duty, will that lax interest be effective enough to see that any other form of government is effective? Eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty, but the price of liberty's government by the people. It seems to me that when we are ready to eliminate representatives in other lines of work, the clergy in morals, the physician in medicine, the teacher in learning



—then and not until then—are we ready to give up the representative principle in government. We are departing from these principles to-day. Going away from what Franklin and the fathers thought was wise, into the untried fields of direct voting, direct primaries, direct work of every kind by the people. Are we sure where we shall end by these changes? I recall very well the man who was a by-word in my boyhood—all of whose troubles came through a new fender he bought for his home. It is a homely story but it carries a lesson. Etwas bought this fender, but when he placed it in front of his fireplace the mantel did not seem right, and so the mantel was changed and that brought a change in the wainscoting and the change in that room went into the hall and finally the whole house had to be changed and Etwas's house ended up in a sheriff's sale. We are tinkering with these changes and one change is the father of unexpected other changes. I think there is nothing that has happened in our national life that has so distressed the minds of thoughtful Americans as the personal conflict into which our only two living holders of our highest office have been drawn during the last few months. The partisans of each have blamed the other for this unhappy occurrence. Has it ever occurred to you that neither of the two men can be justly charged with what we have already recorded? Has it occurred to you that no other president has been placed in this position and that the placing of these two men in it has been the result of the changes that are taking place in our constitutional form of government? When the people require that the principles of the old representative system of presidential nominations shall be done away with—a system by the way that in a hundred years gave us no president of whom the nation was ashamed—and that the men seeking the high office of president of the United States shall be forced on the hustings by the presidential primary, do we need any more signal and striking example of the unlooked for changes which change may bring to us without our wishing?



Moreover, by representation the true representative becomes impressed with the responsibility of not only representing the majority that chose him, but of the under-dog in the fight—the minority, whose representative he is, as a part of the people. And history proves not only the right of the minority to be protected, but the majority's need that a minority be protected. There is no institution in the administration of justice to my mind of greater value than trial by jury. It is the tribunal of the people and in spite of its occasional miscarriages the vast majority of its verdicts are right. But if a majority of seven were to settle its verdict, I would lose my faith in it for the enforced agreement of the other five is the leaven that enables it to work justice to all and malice to none. And a little reflection shows that minorities are often the people's safeguards, that time and experience are needed to indicate a minority's view, indeed, that those great words, "government of the people, by the people and for the people" had, in the mind of Lincoln, a meaning far deeper than the mere words convey. For, mark you, those words were used by him on a higher plane than a mere question of majority. He called his countrymen to "here highly resolve" and that "under God" government of the people, by the people and for the people should not perish. And what was this highly resolved purpose of Lincoln? His own experience tells the story, for Lincoln was a man not of majorities, but of minorities. There never was any more direct appeal to the judgment of the people than the great question which Abraham Lincoln submitted to the people of Illinois in his contest with Douglass. From one end of that state to another, with an absence of all passion, with an appeal to reason, with every wealth of light and instruction and intense earnestness, Lincoln presented the great issue of all ages to the people of Illinois for their determination. But when the votes came the great champion of human liberty found the majority, swept away by the prevailing spirit of the hour, was against him. He, too, for the time being was despised and rejected of men



by a triumphant majority and Lincoln and his minority went down to defeat. But though the majority was against him, truth still remained unchanged, for the real question was not of men but of principle. And to Lincoln in his minority, as to many a man in the loneliness of isolated dissent, came that needed assurance that, "in such a controversy the majority principle has no legitimate place. Where the weapon is reason and not force, there is no magic in a multitude of suffrages. Opinions are to be weighed, not numbered, and if they will not bear the test of reason, it is morally impossible that they stand as law." So, too, in the election of 1860, Lincoln, while elected, represented but a mere minority. The combined votes of Douglass and Breckinridge, all of whom were against him, constituted a great majority of the nation. In the election of 1864, Lincoln was again the representative of a minority, for the principles he stood for would not then have commanded a support of a majority north and south, had all his countrymen voted. But who will say that Lincoln and his minority were wrong, and that Judge Douglass and his majority were right? The Athenians had among their many statutes one dedicated to "time which vindicates," and of one of his noblest characters John Bunyan had only to say, "But Patience was willing to wait." Truly time and patience, and not the recklessness of majorities, are the guardians of minority principles.

And now a closing thought. Franklin lived through one of those great eras of flux and change—those days of radical transition, through which men and nations march or flounder in their onward progress. His was a period of tremendous change. The science of government—for it is a science and as such worthy of the most thoughtful study—was slowly but irresistibly changing. The autocracy of place and birth and class were crumbling away and all the people were awakening to the possibilities of self-government. The absolutism of heredity, the dogmatism of religion, the selfishness of nations, were all being subjected to the scrutiny of a dawning patriotism



and a growing conviction of individual right. The flames of genius burned high, the problems of the present were being illuminated by a thoughtful study of the past. And through the flame and fervor and fusing of awakening ardent brains came the birth and ordering of new conditions. It was a great time for new ideas and the call was for great men. These conditions existed in the old as well as in the new world. But how different the outcome. Germany, lacking any central, towering figure; unblessed by any broad, unifying political impulse and cursed by the selfishness of a score of petty sovereigns, fell back into the stagnation of stolid indifference to await the era of inspiration that came a century later. France, delirious with the new liberty of man which, untempered by dependence on God, swept her into the license of the Revolution, misled by the selfish leadership of a false prophet, who built an empire on the sacrificed blood of misled patriots, drifted back into a century of hopeless indifference. content with nothing, but accepting everything. England, closing her eyes to the reasonable requests of her greatest colony and misled by the ignorance of a stubborn monarch and an imbecile ministry, succeeded on the one hand in losing her American colonial possessions in the new world, while in the old world Napoleon falsely vaunting himself as the evangel of this reawakened spirit of liberty and progress cunningly drove England into a spirit of antagonism to all that was new simply because it was new and into a blind devotion to all that was old simply because it was old. And so it came about that the splendid new spirit that swept over Europe, a spirit that should have been its civic regeneration, a spirit that called LaFayette and Steuben, Pulaski and Kosciusko, Robert Morris from Liverpool and Albert Gallatin from Switzerland, to this side of the ocean, grasped few of its possibilities because that spirit spent itself in blind gropings in a wilderness of leaderless wanderings. In such times and in such seething periods of unrest, a weak man may turn a nation into a mob, but it takes a great man to keep a nation from be-



coming a mob. And therein lay the difference of outcome on this side the Atlantic from this epoch of unrest. It was the far-seeing vision of such men as Franklin and the fathers—wise beyond their day and generation—who led the people by the path of sane and sensible self-control in the new order of government. It takes the great need, the great crisis, the great call of a great people, to create great men and to the new world's great, heart-deep cry for leadership, Providence in its own time answered then as it has always answered since when the cry ascends. What a glorious roll of those immortals answered as the nation's call sounded. With reverence we look up to the long line of the fathers, who each to that clarion call answered—*Adsum*—Here am I—Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, of the Revolution, who gave us the Constitution with our country; Marshall and Webster, whose united efforts made that Constitution a living reality; Lincoln and Grant, who kept us, thank God, a united people under it.

Another period of widespread flux and change is upon us to-day and not upon us alone but upon the whole world. The times are pregnant with unrest and the labors of travail are upon us. The great economic, commercial, social and other changes that invention, expansion, centralization have brought about, perplex, dumfound, dishearten us. We are just awakening to them and as yet we do not know how to meet them. But the unrest of this great people is an unrest for construction and not for destruction and, thank God, an unrest that honestly hungers for leadership and light. The call of the nation to-day is for trusted guiding, and the lack of the nation is our inability to answer that cry. Can we doubt it will be answered? The past of our country bids us have no doubt as to its future. The years of colonial struggle and unrest ended in Franklin and Washington. The many years of seething uncertainty through our pre-civil war era ended in Lincoln, and our present era of unsettled and unsettling unrest must end in leaders that will speak to the nation as these great men



of the past have spoken, not in volumes of words that are as unheeded as they are soon forgotten, but in words and counsel which, like the revolutionary fathers, shall ring true a century after they are spoken, in words of wise and sane counsel and warning that our children's children shall rise up and call blessed a century hence. I came across lately some words of Sydney Lanier's, penned just after the Civil War, but which strikingly and prophetically voice the unspoken yearnings of the nation's heart to-day. Lanier was looking forward to that sad, hopeless era of reconstruction ahead of the southland and for which Lincoln, the South's truest and bravest friend, was most needed. He must have had the martyred president in mind when he wrote: "I have been wondering where we are to get a great man that will be tall enough to see over the whole country and to direct that vast undoing of things which have to be accomplished in a few years. It is a situation in which mere cleverness will not begin to work. The horizon of cleverness is too limited; it does not embrace enough of the place of man, to enable a merely clever politician such as those in which we abound, to lead matters properly at this juncture. The vast generosities which whirl a small revenge out of the way as the winds whirl a leaf; the awful integrity which will pay a debt twice rather than allow the faintest flicker of suspicion about it; the splendid indignations which are also tender compassions and will in one moment be hustling the money changers out of the Temple and in the next be preaching love to them from the steps of it; where are we to find these? It is time for a man to arise who is a man."

My friends, here in this twentieth century the American nation, waiting for a leadership, groping in uncertainty, bewildered by new questions, beset by false prophets, says, with Lanier, "It is time for a man to arise who is a man." When Providence and the unfolding of time shall answer that call, is hidden from our ken, but that time and that Providence we can await with a fortitude and a faith born of the conviction



that the study of the lives and teachings of Franklin and these great men of the past will in good time recall us to sure and safe and sane paths, born of a stern resolve that these great and wise men shall not have builded this great nation only to be undone by lesser minds and weaker men and a profound faith that, as in the past so now and hereafter, when the nation is prepared for leadership, the nation's leader has and always will be found. And with no misgivings but a grounded faith that this nation's mission to its own people and to all humanity, the mission of the standard bearer of constitutionally limited government, let us march forward to the high destinies awaiting us in that spirit in which Lincoln faced the greatest human task ever allotted to man, when in his first inaugural he said, "My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well on this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time, but no good object can be frustrated by it. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulties."



### III.

## THE ANNIVERSARY SERMON.<sup>1</sup>

ELLIS N. KREMER.

“Ye are complete in him.” Colossians 2: 10.

The first meaning of the text is that Jesus Christ is the source of all moral strength and spiritual grace. All principalities and powers derive authority and strength from Him, for He is their head. All believers receive life, truth and power from Him, for He is the “fulness of the Godhead bodily.” Principalities and powers stand related to Him as spiritual beings for He is divine; believers stand related to Him as human beings, for He is divine-human. He is the full source of all virtue. As the touch of His garment gave life to the dying woman, the touch of faith gives life to the soul. Such is the conviction of the apostle, elsewhere declared, and here summed up in the words of the text, “Ye are complete in Him.”

The immediate purpose of the text may have been to relieve the mind of the Church at Colosse concerning the observance of rites, ceremonies and legal restrictions pertaining to the Jewish faith. All these have been fulfilled in Christ. The spiritual benefit which attached to their observance is now offered through union with Him. But the text shows the attitude of St. Paul towards education. He presents Jesus Christ as the true source of knowledge, and the one in whom all wisdom and scholarship are to find their completion, if it is to be found at all.

<sup>1</sup> The Anniversary Sermon preached in the First Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pa., on Sunday, June 9, 1912, by the Rev. Ellis N. Kremer, D.D., pastor of Salem Reformed Church, Harrisburg, Pa., at the opening of the Charter Anniversary of Franklin and Marshall College.



The whole epistle centers itself in Christ. He is the active principle of creation, "for by Him were created all things whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers: all things were created by Him and for Him, and He is before all things, for by Him all things consist." He is the head of the body, the Church, "for it pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell." He is the source of reconciliation, "having made peace through the blood of His cross." He is the spoiler of adverse powers. He is the true source of ethical life, its substance and determining force, as contrasted with man-made rules of conduct such as "touch not, taste not, handle not." He is the life of the believer, the example and inspiration of righteous living. He is the source and object of knowledge because in Him are all the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

In this epistle the apostle evidently had in mind the instruction of believers. He knew that instruction is an ethical force because it eventually affects the will; that therefore it must have a true end and object in view; that the facts of knowledge must be rightly related to the end and object of knowledge. "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." Whatever the apostle may have meant by the term "philosophy," we are certainly at liberty to regard it as including human systems of thought and instruction and to take the text as showing the attitude of the apostle towards education. It is true as to education in the time of the apostle, has been true ever since, and is true now that Jesus Christ is the true center of education of whatever kind. The words of the text set Him forth as such, as truly as He is set forth as the object of faith in the words, "Looking unto Jesus, the Author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross, despising the shame and is set down at the right-hand of God."

In describing human philosophy as tending to spoil the be-



liever, the Apostle is not opposed to education. He had a large view of human knowledge as attained in the schools, and reveals in his letters the advantage he derived from education. Nor is the Church against education; she is "the mother of schools." The Apostle gives the true objective center around which all knowledge should revolve and by which thought should be directed and determined. Of Christ he says, "It pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell," and that "He is our wisdom."

Education, as the word indicates, is the drawing out or development of latent powers within us. All normal beings possess these powers; not all, however, realize them.

"Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid  
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;  
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,  
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre,  
But Knowledge to their eyes her ample page  
Rich with the spoils of time did ne'er unroll;  
Chill penury repressed their noble rage,  
And froze the genial current of their soul."

Such realization demands the impartation of knowledge. Knowledge is to the mind what meat and drink are to the body. The process of mental growth by eating and drinking knowledge can not be fully discerned or described; we feel it, however, and see it by results. It affords the best illustration of the mystical words of Jesus, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood ye have no life in you." As the mind lays hold of truth, faith lays hold of the actual Christ. In a certain sense we may be said to eat and drink knowledge, and by that process we grow.

Mere human philosophy is "vain deceit" as regards the true object of knowledge; it is "traditions of men" because it lacks the revelation of God; it is but "rudiments" because disconnected with absolute truth. It cannot sound the depths nor reach the heights possible to human thought and purpose. It has its own honored place in human development. Philosophy, science, literature and art have their respective fields.



It is not the first purpose of the Christian religion to teach them; nor are they of themselves opposed to the Christian religion. The heavens are stretched out before the gaze of the astronomer for his study, and the vegetable kingdom appeals to the botanist, without respect to his attitude towards Christ. "The Kingdom of Heaven is not meats and drinks"; neither is it mathematics, music, nor painting. But the Kingdom of Heaven affects all these. Not one, or all of them, can complete the scholar. "Ye are complete in Him." While man cannot by searching find out God, yet finding God through Jesus Christ who reveals Him, his attainments in earthly knowledge become enriched, enobled, and complete, because truly centered and he himself becomes more like God. The man who loves his fellowman becomes like God in the sphere of affection; the man who knows becomes like God in the sphere of wisdom; but he who in Christ loves his fellowman, and he who in Christ knows, become complete in love and knowledge, because they are in Him who is both wisdom and love.

The proper development of the mind demands sound knowledge—accurate, full and rightly related. False philosophy leads to false reasoning and false action. Hence the importance of the teacher. The true teacher is the most important factor in education. He is not only an instructor. He gives himself to the pupil. His spirit enters into communion with them. He lives himself into them. Because he lives they live also. In accordance with the oneness of mind and heart holding between the teacher and pupil the spirit of the teacher apprehends the pupil and is in turn apprehended by him. Nevin lived and yet lives in his pupils. Rauch could be discerned in those who came under the influence of his culture and thought. The men of this institution are perpetuating themselves in the youth who come under their care.

The great teacher is our Lord Jesus Christ. He is in Himself the highest and noblest appeal to the imagination, the source of wisdom for the understanding and the perfect example for the will. He gives Himself to the believer and in



the deepest sense, because He lives we live also. Even where this complete relation of union with Christ does not exist between the pupil and the Savior, yet Christian education has this over mere human education: the instruction given and knowledge imparted are properly centered and they furnish the mind with the true principle of thought and action. The reason Christ is the true center of human knowledge is because He is the truth. The mind demands truth as its object, and all education moves on the belief that it has the truth. Christ declares Himself to be the truth. He is the way to the Father because He is the truth and the life.

Truth is the harmonious activity of understanding and will, determined by a true object; he that "heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I shall liken him unto a wise man"; hearing, knowing with approval, and doing, determined by the sayings of Christ. To hear the sayings of Christ, to know the word of God demands that there is such a word, and that the sayings of Christ are true. Hearing them and approving them is partial truth; hearing and living them is the truth.

Truth is the harmony and agreement of the ideal and the real. To use a homely illustration we say of the carpenter's square warped by heat, it is not true. That is, the idea of the square is not realized in the actual tool. Jesus said, "I came not to do mine own will but the will of Him that sent me." Here is the ideal, viz., conformity of life to the will of God. Of Him God says: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." Here is the reality witnessed to by God Himself. In this respect Jesus is the truth because the ideal of His life and mission are realized in Himself. As man, Christ is the truth, because He is the realization of the divine ideal of humanity. Nature, of which He is part, finds in Him its true head, and best interpreter. The facts of knowledge lie back of their discovery. In so far as these facts are rightly discerned, and the expression of them is clear and complete, the instruction will be good. The expression is human; the original idea realized in nature is divine. When such expres-



sion moves in harmony with the spirit and mind of Christ, whether in book or oral instruction, it is complete, because knowledge has found its head. He is complementary to and in agreement with truth in all forms, and the true key to knowledge. Education is not complete until its knee has bowed to Him and its tongue confessed Jesus Christ to be Lord to the glory of God the Father.

The evidence of this is clearly seen in the history of education. The world's greatest thinkers and scholars, empire builders and statesmen have acknowledged the supremacy of Christ. His spirit has illumined and elevated the school. In music, painting and sculpture, He has been the greatest inspirer of all. In the change of laws and customs for the betterment of man, the products always of mental and ethical fermentation and progress, His spirit has ruled wherever such changes have been enduring. We do not withhold the meed of praise due to great and noble men who have wrought for the betterment of man without having the mind and the spirit of Christ. Christian, infidel and Jew have sacrificed and labored for liberty of thought, speech and person. But where Christ has been exalted and his spirit followed, there have been the greatest triumphs of freedom. That the full contents of His being, and of His relation to human education and progress, have been apprehended, no one will claim. Christianity means progress. But there is much so-called progress to-day, which is simply going back to old issues, or no real issues at all. They seem new because resurrected from the buried past and galvanized into a sort of life by boldness of statement and assumption of superior knowledge or virtue. That which is really new never shouts at present conditions nor despises the results of past thought and action. It moves onward with the patience of the Lord, and seeks amidst the Babel voices of the world to hear His voice in the inner man and to see His majestic stepping in human history. That this may be done reverently, positively and for the betterment of man calls for a scholarship centering itself in Him, and a faith which says



with Peter of old: "Lord to whom shall we go, Thou hast the words of eternal life and we believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

In claiming that education must be Christian to be true, we simply assert the superiority of the Christian religion, for all education has to do with religion. The philosophies and schools of the past were religious. The highest teachers honored their gods, or feeling their insufficiency longed for a higher revelation. Plato's cry, "Oh that the gods would show themselves to men," and Isaiah's prayer, "Oh that Thou wouldst rend the Heavens and come down," have been answered. That cry of the past coming from the hungry souls of seekers after God is an emphasis to the declaration of Paul, "Ye are complete in Him." They felt their incompleteness, longed after a greater fulness, and saw that this could come from God only. The insufficiency of human attainment without God is as fully set forth in their cry as the completeness of man in Christ is set forth in the text. We recognize the fact that there are schools, which, while they have been founded by christian benevolence, and have been largely maintained in the same way, are not such institutions as the statement of the text demands. They are affected by christianity, it is true, and while their science and philosophy have no place for Him as a revelation, His spirit to a greater or less extent touches their life. But what the nation needs is not so much institutions and men touched by the spirit of Christ, and outwardly affected by Him, but christian institutions and christian men. Imagine for a moment all our christian institutions blotted out of existence, and yet all the non-christian triumphs of learning and art preserved, then would human life become a desolation and waste until the spirit of God would brood upon the face of the deep, and God once more pronounce His word, "Let there be light." Through all the christian centuries the true light shineth. He is the light of the world. In Him is found the formative principle of truth which, while it is a defence against agnosticism, doubt and despair, calls for the



freest and fullest investigation and the most profound thought. He ever invites the closest search and ever remains more than the closest searcher of truth can find. But animated by His spirit the student will find a deeper meaning in every branch of human knowledge and culture, and in His light he shall see light. Wherever He is accepted He asserts Himself by His divine power and headship. He supplies the need of the human spirit by His own fulness. His pure and holy mind illumines and determines human thought, as by His Holy obedience and sacrifice He calls forth and directs human love. We are complete in Him as to all knowledge and culture, because ruled by His spirit, knowledge and culture are rightly related to God and man. As the living personal truth He touches and determines all forms of truth and brings to actual fulfillment the ideal as this originally existed in the mind of God, and was projected in nature by the act of creation. The earth shook and darkness fell at the noonday hour when He died, for He is the Lord of nature; the fleecy clouds were His chariot when He ascended, for nature rejoiced in the triumph of its Head. The mind and soul of man are filled with a new vision of wisdom and glory when He is seen as one like unto ourselves. He belongs to us, and we belong to Him. No nation or people can claim Him, for He is a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of God's people Israel. Man and woman, bond and free, Jew and Gentile, are in Him bound together as one, and are complete in Him who unites all to God.

On the principle of Christian education, and with a full sense of its necessity, Franklin College was founded 125 years ago. United with Marshall College the institution has manifested as one of its most distinctive characteristics, an education centering in Jesus Christ, the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of His person. In addition to this, however, there was another distinction—it was an institution for Germans. In this respect the institution has had a field of usefulness of great significance to the development of American Christianity. The Reformed and Lutheran



Churches, both original churches of the Reformation, have a genius and spirit much alike in many things. They differed from other forms of christianity which prevailed in our state and nation a century ago. An emphasis on the sacraments, on christian nurture, on the educational principle in the christian life and a distinctive freedom of thought and investigation, made them appear to other Churches a peculiar people. "Book Christians" they were sometimes called. Especially was this true of the Reformed Church in the early period of its first educational institution. These two bodies were the mediators and interpreters of German Protestant religious life and thought. Not by translation of German systems of philosophy and dogmatics into the English tongue. In this respect their work was less efficient than it might have been. But they had the German life and spirit and these came to be expressed by these denominational bodies in American thought and life. The old spirit of the German Reformation came to a new birth on American soil. Only thus could it meet the full need of the American Church. In this work our own institution was especially active, and while its free investigation, and its clear assertion of fundamental truth, exposed it to misunderstanding here, it commanded the respect and awakened inquiry, as Mercersburg theology and philosophy, in the universities of Europe.

There is that in the German which leads him to adapt himself to new surroundings and yet to preserve his own distinctive German thought and feeling. To whatever foreign government he has transferred himself, he has been most ready to render his service and affection. His new home is his present home, and home to the German means much more than it does to some other nationalities. The spirit of freedom which entered so largely into the birth and development of Protestantism, and the sense of legal obligation developed under the conditions of life existing in his native country, made this an acceptable land, and made him a good citizen. No body of foreigners transferred their allegiance and devotion to this land



more fully than did the German. In the war for the preservation of the Union 175,000 foreign Germans enlisted in our army; 48 per cent. of the Union army were farmers. When we remember how large is the representation of Germans and those of German extraction in farming life, we can readily see that the number of enlistments of Germans and the sons of Germans must have been immense. The great body of this people originally came to our land under the dominating hope and purpose of finding a larger freedom in religion as well as for civil liberty and better opportunities for themselves and their families. They brought their Bibles, hymn books, prayer books and catechisms with them. In our state they were the first to print and distribute religious literature. To all their work they brought a willing mind and spirit, a self-sacrifice and devotion as modest as it was beautiful. Conscious of the difficulties they had to overcome, as to language, social position, religious peculiarities, customs different from and in some respects at variance with the accepted customs of their neighbors, they nevertheless had one great advantage in the fact that their religious services, and pastoral oversight, were under the leadership of men trained in the universities; men of broad and sound learning. Schlatter, Hendel and Muhlenberg, whose names among others appear in Dr. Dubbs's history of Franklin College, were men whose worth was freely acknowledged in their own day, and whose names are yet held in esteem and affectionate remembrance. We know not to what extent the dead in Christ can participate in earthly scenes. Our liturgy has reverently assumed to say that the great cloud of witnesses are looking down upon us from the Heavenly Kingdom. If this be so, it may be that they share with us the joy of this occasion. If they do, one thing we know, that in the spirit of thanksgiving they will unite in saying, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name, give glory.

May the blessing of the triune God rest on our beloved institution; may its teachers ever be men whose freedom of



thought, while it leads them into fearless investigation, may be tempered by reverence for the past and unshaken faith and allegiance to Him who is the truth. Then shall the celebration of this day be but one of many to come. May we cherish the memory of the fathers, the fruits of whose labors we now enjoy. Many of them were personally known to him who speaks. The remembrance of their faith and hope and pious labors, their hard toil, their confidence in the day of small things, which became greater things by reason of their self-sacrifice, zeal and devotion, shall ever abide with us as a rich legacy and inspiration.

Above all may those who go forth from this institution bring their learning to the feet of Him who is the truth, and the greater their knowledge, learning and power, the greater will be their joy, when they can say, "Thou art worthy O Lord to receive glory and honor and blessing, for Thou hast created all things and for Thy pleasure they are and were created."



## IV.

### BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.<sup>1</sup>

HON. GEO. F. BAER.

The celebration of the 125th year of the founding of Franklin College to-day takes the place of the customary exercises of Commencement Day.

The Act of Incorporation, passed March 10, 1787, declares:

“That there shall be and hereby is erected and established in the said borough of Lancaster in the county of Lancaster in this State, a college and charity school for the instruction of youth in the German, English, Latin, Greek and other learned languages, in theology and in the useful arts, sciences and literature, the style, title and constitution of which college shall be as is hereinafter set forth, that is to say:

“First: From a profound respect for the talents, virtues and services to mankind in general, but more especially to this country, of his excellency, Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, president of the supreme executive council, the said college shall be and hereby is denominated ‘Franklin College.’”

This is a challenge to us for all time to honor the memory, the talents, the virtues and the services of Benjamin Franklin.

It is impossible to define the qualifications which exalt men to the limited company of the most famous men of the world. The roll of the great men girdles the earth; but the names of the few, who by common consent, are the most famous, can be written on a short scroll. In most cases the “fame that all hunt after in their lives, lives registered upon the brazen

<sup>1</sup>The address of the presiding officer, the Hon. Geo. F. Baer, LL.D., at the Charter Anniversary of Franklin and Marshall College held at the Fulton Opera House, Lancaster, Pa., June 13, 1912.



tombs," or is sepulchered in ponderous tomes, only to be resurrected by scholarly research.

In general, universal fame comes only to great poets and writers who give utterance to great thoughts that appeal to men without limitation as to time or race; to warriors and statesmen, whose deeds have created epochs in the history of the world, or to great teachers and discoverers who have added to the knowledge, the progress and the comfort of mankind.

In our day no one hesitates to rank Benjamin Franklin among the very great men of the earth, or to give him the second place in the American Pantheon.

His place was already assigned to him while living. His capacity for doing so many things well was so remarkable that had he been a younger man at the outbreak of the Revolution, it is highly probable he would have taken the first place. We smile at the jealousy of the men of his day; but such rivalry always has and always will exist between actors in great struggles. We, perhaps, marvel at the indiscretion of John Adams in complaining—years after the death of Washington and Franklin—of the eternal puffing and trumpeting of Washington and Franklin to the detriment of other greater men he names. Curiously enough in his list of greater men he omits the name of one who is given the third place—Washington, Franklin and Jefferson—an immortal trio which the judgment of time has made an exclusive group.

To the extent that the records of men have been preserved, perhaps the world has not produced a more remarkable man than Benjamin Franklin. A poor printer boy, with no educational advantages, other than those of a grammar school, in the hours he could steal from manual toil and sleep, he educated himself so as to be worthy of and to receive from the most noted universities the highest literary degrees conferred on college-bred men. In his day neither industry nor frugality were despised. There was no limitation on work. Then no one in virtue's garb taught men to hate prosperity and the conduct and effort which create it, and no foolish law-makers



restrained by penal laws the natural right of man to work as long and as hard as he pleases.

When we recall how much this self-educated man accomplished, it may perhaps create some doubt as to the wisdom of our modern plan of making education so cheap. The struggle and sacrifice which develops men seem no longer necessary under our philanthropic schemes of education.

His capacity and energy in providing for the defense of the state indicate qualities that belong to great military chieftains. His management of the affairs of the colonies as their agent at the British court is a marvelous story of good sense and tact. At times neither colony nor king's government fully trusted him. But he gained a reputation for wisdom, and had so strongly presented the justness of the colonies' contentions that throughout the long struggle of the Revolution there was a party of strong men in England favorable to the colonies.

When the time for separation came, Franklin, already grown old, was the Nestor of the chieftains.

His long residence abroad gave him a clear conception of European politics. The friendship of France, the rival and political enemy of Great Britain, was the key to the situation.

His conduct and influence in securing and holding the hearty sympathy and support of the king and the people of France for so many years, until victory was won, is a story of successful diplomacy, so brilliant and fascinating that in all time men will marvel at it.

Returning to Pennsylvania, he was unanimously (when he was nearly 80 years of age) made governor at a time when to be governor of Pennsylvania was a high honor, involving high character, great wisdom and unselfish service. The official title was President of the Supreme Executive Council. He held this office at the time Franklin College was founded.

He helped to frame the constitution of Pennsylvania, and the constitution of the United States. These are only a few of his greater achievements. He could well say: "I have done



the state some service, and they know it." As a statesman and a patriot he was peerless.

It has always seemed to me that the goddess of good fortune watched over Franklin. The most practical of philosophers—eternally exalting work, thrift and self-denial; despising luxury, crying out against all manner of extravagance and profligacy in the family or in the state; turning everything to some practical account; a utilitarian even to the extent that his love for a woman did not outweigh the absence of a dowry, how he would have rejoiced to see this day! He did not foresee that his electrical discoveries would develop the most potent practical force in the world. Standing with eager anticipation in a shed watching his kite, no searcher for truth ever knew a happier sensation than that which thrilled the heart of Franklin when the current from the thunderbolt revealed "the sameness of lightning and electricity."

The wizard scientists have been working since Franklin's day. Behold the new uses of electricity! Telegraph, telephone, electric light, electric cars, electric motors, electric power in common use everywhere; one of the most practical and useful of all discoveries; and the wizards tell us that it doth not yet appear what it shall be. But the beginning was Franklin's kite experiment.

How does it come to pass that this great man should become interested with the citizens of this state of German birth or extraction to such an extent as to be a potential factor in the endowment of a German college and charity school denominated "Franklin College."

Franklin was a typical New Englander and when he moved to Pennsylvania he perhaps met for the first time the Germans who had migrated from Germany to Pennsylvania. He neither understood the character nor the language of these people, and he jumped to the conclusion that they were ignorant boors. On several occasions he joined with the English colonists, who feared the ultimate supremacy of the Germans, in denouncing them as a class of people who were not desirable. In one of his addresses he said: "Why should the



Palatine boors be suffered to swarm in our settlements, and by herding together establish their language and manners to the exclusion of ours."

Franklin, in a very short time, formed a different opinion of the Germans; and when the great struggle came in 1776, his appeal to the Germans to join in securing the Declaration of Independence was not made in vain, and the Germans in Pennsylvania became potential factors in securing the vote of Pennsylvania for the Declaration of Independence.

After the success of the Revolutionary War he fully appreciated the worth of the Germans. He was the leader in the movement to establish a German college, and contributed a considerable sum of money to its endowment.

The preamble to the charter clearly states that it was to be a public recognition. It contains these words of high praise:

"Whereas the citizens of this State of German birth or extraction eminently contributed by their industry, economy and public virtues to raise the State to its present happiness and prosperity."

The purpose of the college was stated to be:

"The preservation of the principles of the christian religion and our Republican form of government . . . to educate a succession of youth who by being enabled fully to understand the grounds of both may be led the more zealously to practice the one and the more strenuously to defend the other."

It is no idle boast to say that Franklin College prior to and since its consolidation with Marshall College has steadfastly striven to maintain these high ideals. The progress advocated has been one of evolution and not revolution. Thoroughly Americanized, the Pennsylvania Germans nevertheless respect the birthplace of their ancestors. They appreciate the virtues and high character of the Teutonic peoples. With one accord we can assure his Excellency, the distinguished Ambassador of the Great German Empire that in this land of liberty and law they have not lost their Teutonic faith, Teutonic reverence, Teutonic courage.

READING, PA.



## V

### THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF FRANKLIN COLLEGE<sup>1</sup>

R. C. SCHIEDT.

We have just listened with bated breath to the wonderful story of modern German city building. It was a splendid testimonial of the progressive spirit of one of the foremost of modern races. Most of us assembled here this morning are members of the same stock, proud of our inheritance and ever ready to proclaim to the world our right and bounden duty to rejoice in everything German which makes for the betterment of the human race. It is therefore but natural that we should celebrate the 125th anniversary of an event in American history which marks an epoch in the German pioneer work of American civilization. We are proud of our Pilgrim Fathers who more than two centuries ago set foot on American soil. They were men of heroic mold, braving on fragile vessels the storms and dangers of a treacherous sea with no other inducement before them than the promise of freedom in an unknown wilderness. Their home land was in ruins, materially bankrupt and intellectually in bondage. The natural highways of commerce along the Rhine, the North and Baltic seas lay desolate, the once powerful cities of the Hausa Bund had degenerated into mere shadows of their former glory, citizenship had become petrified into a system of castes and privileges and their language had lost the dignity and purity it pos-

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered by Professor R. C. Schiedt, A.M., Ph.D., Sc.D., at the Charter Anniversary of Franklin and Marshall College held at the Fulton Opera House, in Lancaster, Pa., on Thursday, June 13, 1912. The main data of this paper are derived from Professor J. W. Harshberger's article on Mühlenberg in his book *The Botanists of Philadelphia and their Work*, Philadelphia, 1899.



sessed in the thirteenth century and was broken up into numberless dialects void of strength, of nobility and of charm. But the spirit of the Fathers was still upon them. In this spirit they conquered the wilderness. In the nature of the case they could not vie in scholarship with their English fellow colonists, but the first essential of colonization is always a clearing in the thicket. In this they succeeded marvelously, preparing the way for the garden spot of the United States, and in the fulness of time they also came to their intellectual and spiritual heritage. That titanic power, that truly plastic spirit of the Reformation with its overflowing wealth of new creations and its promise of tremendous deeds could not be crushed. It was the very spirit which had fired the Pilgrim Fathers to cross the seas. It rejuvenated the language of the home land, filled it with a profound religious inwardness, an incomparable, sacred passion, gave it philosophical exactness, definiteness and the rare capacity for abstraction and endowed it with sensuous euphony, rythm, harmony and objectivity. It was the same spirit which demolished the old isolated caste system and thereby enlarged German life itself. Everywhere organizations were formed in the home land for the improvement of speech and the alleviation of general distress. Facile princeps among the latter was August Herman Francke's orphan asylum with its famous schools and printing house in Halle now the Prussian university town. High ideals, iron discipline and a broad humanitarianism characterized the institution. The best minds of the nation were trained here, simplicity of faith, purity of heart and vigorous manly conduct were the guiding religious principles of its educational system, missionary propaganda was the aim as well as the method of work. Among the first young men of mark attracted to this new center of patriotic activity was one Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, from Eimbeck in Hanover, who left the University of Göttingen in order to coöperate with Francke and study his singularly successful work. In 1742 he was sent to America to bring to the Germans across the sea



the new enthusiasm and new intellectual and spiritual awakening of a rejuvenated Germany. He became the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in the United States, one of the largest religious bodies in the country, and the forerunner of a large number of very able ministers of the gospel. He sent his own three sons back to Halle to receive the splendid training for which Francke's institutions were justly famous, and to enjoy the advantages of the noted university. All three became distinguished American citizens. The eldest, the Rev. Johann Gabriel Mühlenberg, was a major general in the Revolutionary War, vice-president of Pennsylvania, a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, a United States senator and a well-known revenue officer. Another son, Frederick Augustus, also a minister of the gospel, was a member of the Continental Congress, a member and speaker of the Pennsylvania Legislature and a member of the House of Representatives.

The third son, Gotthilf Heinrich Ernst Mühlenberg, the object of our eulogy, became the first president of Franklin College and one of the most distinguished botanists of his time. The choice of the first president for Franklin College could not have been more auspicious. On the one hand strong pressure was brought to bear on the German population of Pennsylvania, numbering then at least one-third of the total number of its inhabitants, to establish a first-class institution of learning of their own type and after their own racial model, because it was felt not only by the best English but also by the best German element that the higher training of the mind was sadly neglected among the Pennsylvania Germans. On the other hand, there was a young man, born in the colonies and trained in the foremost German schools and universities of his time, who thoroughly understood the needs of his kin and was filled with the high ideals and broad humanitarianism of his day.

He easily stands out to-day as the most dominant figure in the early history of Franklin College; dominant by virtue of



his *personality*, his *scholarship* and his *international reputation*. Personality is largely a matter of inheritance and environment. I have touched upon his inheritance; with your permission I shall enlarge upon his *environment*. The most impressionable years of his life, *i. e.*, from the tenth to his eighteenth year, were spent in Germany, in the environment of Francke's institutions and the University of Halle, in the immediate neighborhood of Wittenberg and Weimar, where the new life of a new nation was writhing in its birth throes. He came there in 1763 when Frederick the Great had reached the zenith of his power, had vanquished his foes and secured for the German name its rightful recognition. However, it was not military glory only which illumined the German, more particularly the Prussian name; Frederick the Great was not only a great general but also a scholar, a lover of the beautiful, a writer and a musician. He embodied the aspirations of the age and the age was surcharged with the fulminating forces of a new idealism. Young Mühlenberg not merely learned here the rudiments of Latin and Greek and Hebrew, of mathematics and natural history. He could have learned that just as well in New England, whose teachers were the peers of the brightest lights of Oxford's classic scholarship.

Nay, he acquired something more important and different, something especially needed here in Pennsylvania, something which the sagacious Franklin had clearly recognized as essential for the proper development of the Pennsylvania Germans, when he urged that the Germans who had so tenaciously clung to their language should learn to write it and speak it in the best form and to catch the spirit of that new Germany which had experienced such a wonderful rejuvenescence since the middle of the eighteenth century; for a language is only the symbol of the ideas which fill and move and agitate a people or an age. It was a wise suggestion on the part of one of the wisest of the age. He had witnessed the new German awakening at the University of Göttingen and even planned



to make the University of Pennsylvania an American Göttingen. And what was this specific something expressed by the new German tongue? Out of the dissolutions and desolations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the German spirit had soared on high, as it were, to find entrance and take refuge in the realm of the beautiful. Religion, as a mere abstract devotion to transcendental speculations, had ceased to be the determining power of the age in Germany, nor was it *politics* as the realization of the *idea* in the *sphere* of concrete, historical conditions. Instead of the expected free religion after the principle of protestantism and instead of the dreamed-of free state which belonged to the future, we find art, liberal art to be the watchword and problem of the times. Friederich Schlegel had epigrammatically expressed the mission of his people in these words, "Do not squander your faith and your love in the political world, but in the divine world of knowledge and culture sacrifice your innermost life, in the sacred lava stream of eternal culture." Or as Mühlenberg expresses it in simpler language in his inaugural address, "If you wish well to your country, if you wish to make your children acceptable before God and men, if you wish the eternal gratitude of your descendants to fulfill the greatest of your obligations, educate your children. Lands and houses and all earthly goods will perish, but a good education will remain; it is the best inheritance, for it lasts till eternity."

The German nation then began its *classic æsthetic career*. Art absorbed the attention and the strength of all minds and fermented in all hearts. All at once there appeared a host of poets following in the footsteps of the great teachers and models of the beautiful, the Greeks. Lessing was the first to express this new quality of his race and to make them conscious of it; he was the first one who discovered the idea of the beautiful, the essence of art and he demonstrated that the return to the simplicity of nature alone would lead to a full appreciation of art; not the nature of Rousseau, but glorified nature, nature borne of the spirit, the nature of the Greeks,



the nature of a Shakespeare, is the mother of all art. Lessing's *Laokoon* and *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* were revelations in those days, revelations of the incarnate consciousness of the age. And as Lessing awakened the æsthetic consciousness of his nation, Goethe emphasized the efficiency, the living reality of the beautiful and Schiller enlarged the merely subjective enjoyment and applied it to history and politics. The æsthetic *consciousness* became the æsthetic *deed*, the mere *concept* of the beautiful became incarnate in a *beautiful personality*, as represented in Goethe and Schiller themselves. Schiller went even farther. The beautiful was to him "an education of the human race for freedom and morality," and his immortal poems became prophecies which pointed the way which the mass of people later on had to travel, the way from the merely æsthetic to the political consciousness. "Wir wollen sein ein einig Volk von Brüdern" leaped from the stage into life and found its marvellous fulfilment.

But while Schiller in a literary and poetic way expressed the highest principle in education, Kant and Wilhelm von Humboldt gave it precision and philosophical depth. Luther's language had reached the stage of full fruition, the philosophical principle dominated. Its greath wealth of detail in the scale of meaning permits the expression of the most minute differences even for the mere indications of shades of meaning which cannot be analyzed. While Hume exhausted the English vocabulary in destructive criticisms, Immanuel Kant succeeded by means of the *German language* to build up a thought structure which the most skillful translator cannot make intelligible in a *foreign* tongue to the common man. No one can successfully translate the word "Weltanschauung" with all the wealth of its meaning and the possession of a "Weltanschauung," a standard of judgment for all situations in life, is after all the end and aim of the best educational systems.

I have thus only indicated what it meant for the young college at Lancaster to have as its head a man who came directly



from that wonderful environment which had in it the nascent forces of the great educational ideals of later times. When Franklin College was opened in 1787 Schiller gave to his nation the immortal *Don Carlos* and Goethe his *Iphigenie*, while Kant published his *Critique of Practical Reason*. Goethe had passed from the pessimism of *Werther* to the optimistic humanitarianism of *Iphigenie* and Schiller from the naturalism of the satyrist to the idealism of the artist, while Kant, in granting practical reason the primacy over pure reason, proclaimed that the demands of the will and of action are above knowledge and speculation. Here we have the fundamental educational ideas prevalent in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Personality as the object of education had been the guiding principle of Francke's institutions from the beginning, and the history of the first Mühlenbergs is the test for its correctness.

What the first president as *scholar* and *educator* was to Franklin College can hardly be estimated by the poverty stricken conditions of the young institution or by the curriculum of the first years. All such beginnings are obscure and frequently desperately discouraging in the beginning; even Harvard and Yale had such experiences. It was considerably more so in a community and among a race which to a large degree was opposed to a higher education as were the majority of those early Mennonites and Palatines. The essential factors in the movement were after all the *men* who had charge of it, the remarkable faculty and equally remarkable Board of Trustees, and the ideals which guided them. Of them we read in a letter from Philadelphia in 1787: "The enthusiasm and generosity with which they go about furthering every object having reference to their nation and their religion cause it to be hoped that this college will within a few years be inferior to none of the oldest colleges in America, in wealth and public regard." To appreciate Mühlenberg as a *scholar* and *educator* we must know him not primarily as a



theologian or linguist but as a scientist or more especially a *botanist*.

The beginning of Franklin College is coincident with the dawn of modern science. Both owe much to the spirit of the Reformation. The spirit of freedom of individual research borne of the freedom from ecclesiastical authority in matters intellectual stimulated the best minds to restudy old values and open up unknown spheres of truth. In rapid succession the elements which constitute our immediate environment were isolated and described, air and water and common salt lost their mysterious character and Priestly and Scheele and Lavoisier and Cavendish laid the foundations of modern chemistry. In physical science our own Benjamin Franklin towered high above his contemporaries. Robert Fulton, born in Little Britain, Lancaster County, started on his career of steamboat construction. In the biological world, Linnæus, of Sweden, ruled supreme. He had published his immortal *Systema Naturæ* and introduced the binomial nomenclature into the methods of classification. Naturally at the time when the authority of a person in matters of faith had been replaced by the authority of a book, the key to all knowledge of nature was found in the words of Holy Writ, "Have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." "And Adam gave names to all cattle and to the fowl of the air and to every beast of the field." The chief mission of the biologist of those days was to discover and describe as many animals and plants as possible; it was the day of the making of catalogues in local floras and faunas. Prominent in this line were two professors in the New Franklin College. Henry Mühlenberg, sometimes called the Linnæus of America, and Friedrich Valentine Melsheimer, universally acknowledged as the father of American entomology, whose insect collection formed the nucleus of the Harvard collections in entomology, both had received their education in German schools and universi-



ties, one in Halle and the other in Helmstädt; both constantly coöperated and corresponded with European scientists.

A certain Doctor Johann David Schoepf, a Hessian stationed in New York during the Revolutionary War, travelled through the eastern states to Florida in search of medicinal plants. He afterwards published his experiences and only lately this book was republished in an English translation. From it we learn that he became well acquainted with Mühlenberg, whom he praises for his accurate knowledge of the plants and minerals of America. The correspondence of the two soon led Mühlenberg into correspondence with other eminent botanists in Germany, England, France and Sweden, with such men as Hedwig, Hoffman, Persoon, Pursh, Smith, Schreber, Sturm, Willdenow, William Aiton, Batsch, Beauvais, Schrader, of Göttingen, Kurt Sprengel, of Halle, and Olaf Schwartz, one of Linnæus's most eminent pupils. From this correspondence we gather that Mühlenberg was not merely a cataloguer of plants but a master of scientific botany as it was then known. He was one of the first botanists to recognize the necessity of establishing a natural system of classification as over against the artificial system of Linnæus. Gärtner, of Tübingen, Baatsch, of Jena, and Sprengel, of Halle, had aroused considerable interest in the study of natural affinities of plants as revealed in fruit and seed. DeCandolle in Geneva and Robert Brown in England completed their work and elaborated the natural system and its fundamental principles and laws of classification with a clearness and depth such as no one before them had displayed. They laid the foundations on which later Darwin built. With most of these men Mühlenberg corresponded, discussing the relation of plants as well as their economic value. In July, 1785, he presented to the American Philosophical Society founded by Franklin, an outline for a *Flora Lancastriensis* and at the same time a manuscript calendar of flowers. In February, 1791, he communicated his index *Floræ Lancastriensis*, still arranged according to the artificial system of Linnæus and



containing 454 genera with nearly 1,100 species, including both wild and cultivated plants. A supplement of this index which appeared in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* in September, 1796, contained 44 additional genera with 62 species of phanerogams, of which 9 were unknown species of grasses while the cryptogams were represented by 226 additional species, belonging to 29 genera.

In 1809 he decided to write a catalogue of the known native and naturalized plants of North America, which naturally implied that he was assisted in his researches by men all over the country. He also made at the same time a complete description of the plants growing around Lancaster and likewise a complete description of all other North American plants which he had himself seen and arranged in his herbarium. A part of these works dealing with the grasses was published in 1817, two years after his death. The manuscript of it was presented by Zacharias Collins to the American Philosophical Society in 1831 while his valuable herbarium was bought for \$500 by a friend and presented to the American Philosophical Society.

Mühlenberg, however, was far in advance of Linnæus in regard to the true mission of a botanist. Linnæus distinctly declared that the highest and only worthy task of a botanist was to know all species of the vegetable kingdom by name. He was not an investigator of nature in the modern sense of the word, he never made a single important discovery throwing light on the nature of the vegetable world.

True investigation of nature consists not only of deducing rules from exact and comparative observation of the phenomena of nature, but in discovering the genetic forces from which the causal connection, cause and effect may be derived. In the pursuit of these objects it is compelled to be constantly correcting existing conceptions and theories, producing new conceptions and new theories and thus adjusting our own ideas more and more to the nature of things.

Science according to the scholastic or Aristotelian method



is playing with abstract conceptions. The best player is he who can so combine them together that the real contradictions are skillfully concealed; facts are thus merely examples for the illustrations of fixed abstract conceptions, but in the real investigation of nature they are the fruitful soil from which new conceptions, new combinations of thought, new theories and general views spring and grow. Linnæus was a true Aristotelian, not only where he is busy as a systematist and describer but where he wishes to gain information on the nature of plants and on the phenomena of their life as in his *Fundamenta*, his *Philosophica Botanica* and in his *Amœnitates Academicæ*.

Mühlenberg was of a different mould. In a letter dated November 8, 1791, he wrote: "I am collecting as far as I can all I can learn concerning the medicinal and economic uses of our plants and am writing it down. If the medicinal application seems to be confirmed from different sides, and agrees with the character of the plant, I either try it on myself or commend it to my friends. I raise most of the grasses in my garden and experiment how often they can be cut and whether they are readily eaten by horses or cattle." He was preëminently an experimenter, and his correspondence with Professor Hedwig, of Leipzig, the greatest authority on thallophytes and mosses, and one of the first plant histologists and practiced microscopist shows that his interest lay far beyond mere classification. His exalted position among scientists of his age is shown by the honors bestowed upon him. The University of Pennsylvania conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts in 1780, and Princeton that of Doctor of Divinity in 1787. He was made a member of the American Philosophical Society on January 22, 1785. He received diplomas and awards from the Imperial Academy of Erlangen in 1791; the Society of Friends of Natural History, Berlin, 1798; the Westphalian Natural History Society, 1798; the Phytographic Society of Göttingen, 1802; the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia, 1804; the Society for the Promotion of the



Useful Arts, Albany, N. Y., 1805; the Physiographic Society of Lund, Sweden, 1824 and the New York Historical Society, not quite six weeks before his death in Lancaster, May 13, 1824.

Mühlenberg was also a very genial host. He entertained largely in his home at Lancaster. Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland sought him there on their return from their long journey from Spanish America.

A true educator must necessarily be a man of broadest culture, appreciative of all that is beautiful and inspiring in human life and at times a jolly good fellow. Mühlenberg was all of this, his home was the center of Lancaster's social and literary activity and exerted through him its most potent influence upon the community. But the chasm between the leaders and the constituency of the new College was too wide and progress exceedingly slow, and when the Corsican crushed the spirit of the home country on the battlefield of Jena, Franklin College felt the blow most severely. It was only after the rejuvenating baptism of the German nation in the blood of Leipzig's battlefield and the awakening of young Germany during the heroic days of the Burschenschaft movement and the storms of 1848 that the spirit of Mühlenberg came to life again in the personality of Frederick Augustus Rauch, the first president of Marshall College. And when well nigh three fourths of a century after the opening of Franklin College Germany had become a united nation and the glory of the new empire shed its light across the seas and the continents of the globe, the Rip Van Winkle woke up in Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania German Society was organized—and what is more gratifying, organized by an alumnus of old Franklin College. The deeds of the new Germany threw a halo around the deeds of the old, the fame of the new made the reputation of the old secure. What the men of old Franklin College had prayed, loved and died for has begun to be realized in these latter days; the Pennsylvania German has become a mighty force in the public life of the nation, in agriculture, in industry, in commerce and in the professions the Pennsylvania



German plays a noble part. Old Franklin College has fulfilled her mission.

One hundred and twenty-five years after Mühlenberg's first publication of the *Flora Lancastriensis* a son of Franklin and Marshall and of German ancestry, Dr. John K. Small, has again published a *Flora Lancastriensis* as a jubilee gift to his alma mater. The spirit of the old lives in the new, but the new has embodied in it a century of scientific progress, of scholarship and accuracy, born and bred in Germany and transmitted to the nations of the earth as the most precious gift of the Teuton spirit. May the force of personality, the breadth and accuracy of scholarship and the deserved reputation of Gotthilf Heinrich Mühlenberg ever abide as a most precious heritage and an aspiring stimulus with all the sons of old Franklin and Marshall!

LANCASTER, PA.



## VI.

# HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE BEGINNING OF FRANKLIN COLLEGE<sup>1</sup>

H. M. J. KLEIN.

In approaching this historical sketch of the founding of Franklin College I do not wish to recall the fabled German professor who began his account of the Protestant Reformation with the creation of the world, or even the very modern instance of a certain statesman who found it necessary to base his argument for a Nicaraguan canal upon the Spanish conquest of America and of the pressing influence of the inquisition upon the native races of the Western Continent. Nevertheless a reference to our earliest American colleges is what first comes to my mind on this occasion.

Most of the nine colleges in America founded previous to the War of the Revolution were English in type and tradition. Harvard, which for fifty years remained the only college in America, was largely the product of Emanuel College, Cambridge. William and Mary, 1693, the second college in America, represented the Scotch tradition, its first president, James Blair, being under the influence of the University of Edinboro. Yale, the third college, had more of a native *American* influence, in as much as each of the men with one exception influential in founding Yale was a graduate of Harvard. Then followed Princeton, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, Brown, Dartmouth and Rutgers.

In the establishment of Rutgers College, 1766, we have the ideals of academic culture represented by the Hollanders.

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered by Professor H. M. J. Klein, Ph.D., at the Charter Meeting of Franklin and Marshall College held on the College Campus at Lancaster, Pa., on Thursday, June 13, 1912.



The University of Leyden and of Utrecht, two of the most famous universities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the inspiration of this school of the Hollanders which emerged at New Brunswick before the days of the American Revolution.

In fact it was the men who had graduated from these nine colleges of America that first fought out in public debate the vital issues of the revolution. There were not less than 2,500 graduates of these colonial colleges in America in 1775. A large proportion of them entered the active service of the army, but their chief merit lies in the fact that the revolution as a national movement was largely conducted by these men who had been liberally educated in the colonial colleges of America. Most of the leaders of that movement, with the exception of the Lees of Virginia, had been educated in this country. The author of the Declaration of Independence was a graduate of William and Mary. The Adamses came from Harvard. The great satirists of the Revolution were Trumbell of Yale, Freneau of Princeton and Francis Hopkinson of the University of Pennsylvania. Never was there a war in which college men had a larger influence in determining principles and results.

One who studies the history of America in post-Revolutionary times is impressed with the fact that in every phase of human activity there was a rapid development of new life. There was the growth of a new national spirit. There was a marked impetus to the creation of new institutions. This was especially felt in the educational sphere. The founders of the republic felt that the continued existence, development and perpetuity of the new American commonwealth were dependent largely on the formation of an enlightened public community through the channels of education. Therefore the close of the Revolution marked the beginning of numerous institutions of higher learning. Individual states began to promote higher education within their boundaries, with marked enthusiasm and with an astonishing rapidity. Two



years after the treaty of peace the assembly of the state of Georgia granted a charter to the university of that state. In 1784 was chartered the University of Maryland. A few days after the adoption of the constitution of the United States, the University of South Carolina was founded. Naturally the state of Pennsylvania was in the forefront of this new educational movement. In the constitution of our commonwealth adopted September 28, 1776, it had already been declared that all useful learning should be duly encouraged or promoted in the state through one or more universities.

One of the first public works which quickened the interest of the people of Pennsylvania at the close of the Revolutionary War was the establishment of a second college, the University of Pennsylvania having been the first, at some point west of the Susquehanna. Dickinson College was the result of this movement. Then followed the establishment of Franklin College, the third institution of higher education in the commonwealth.

In the foundation of Franklin College, the prime movers were impelled by at least four distinct motives. The first of these was the civic motive. The founders of the nation were deeply convinced that the kind of government they were about to establish in the formation of the American constitution could be conserved only by the diffusion of knowledge, and that the prosperity and happiness of the several commonwealths were dependent upon the right education of youth. They felt that liberty was made safe only by piety and learning. It is for this reason that the petition signed by twelve Philadelphians, who took the initiative in the founding of Franklin College, opens with the following preamble addressed to the Honorable, the Representatives of the free men of Pennsylvania in General Assembly Met: "Your petitioners have been led to undertake the charge of this institution from a conviction of the necessity of diffusing knowledge through every part of the state, in order to preserve our present republican system of government, as well as to promote those



improvements in the arts and sciences which alone render nations respectable, great and happy."

The last phrase of the preamble just quoted brings out the second motive in the establishment of Franklin College, namely, the humanistic desire to enrich the country with minds that were liberally accomplished. This motive, too, is brought out in a strikingly interesting letter written by Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, to the first president of Franklin College and dated February, 1788, in which he says: "The present turbulent era is unfavorable to all peaceable enterprises. Nothing now fills the mind but subjects that agitate the passion. Let us not despair. As soon as our new government is established, the public spirit of our country will be forced to feed upon undertakings that have science and humanity for their objects."

Then there was the *religious* motive, coming, however, from an entirely different source. Ever since the early part of the eighteenth century large numbers of settlers of the Reformed and Lutheran faith had migrated to Pennsylvania. Their ministers were men of learning, educated in German universities. But they were few in number. The two leaders of these denominations, Schlatter and Mühlenberg, had since the middle of the eighteenth century been writing appeals to Europe for help in behalf of the educational interests of the Reformed and Lutheran people of Pennsylvania. As a result a number of charity schools were organized in various parts of this state. But it was soon found that these were not adequate to meet all the educational and religious requirements of the day. A native ministry had to be educated, if the churches were to maintain themselves. In this connection the minutes of the Reformed Cœtus are interesting and valuable documents. In a cœtal letter of May 1784, Blumer, the stated clerk, wrote to the Synod of Holland: "Since indeed, sad experience has taught us that among those who offer themselves to be sent to Pennsylvania, many a one fails, it is the opinion of the most members of cœtus that it would be most



salutary for the Church if young men could be prepared and qualified for the ministry here in this land. However, to institute a school in which the salaries of at least three professors would have to be paid is at present beyond our power, if we are not assisted by generous and loving support from outside." The deputies in Holland at their meeting November 17 and 18, 1784, decided "that for weighty reasons they could not consent to the plan to erect an academy in Pennsylvania in order to prepare young men for the ministry in that country." Again, in April, 1785, Helfrich, the stated clerk, writes: "We take the liberty to ask your opinion again about the establishment of a school right in the midst of the state of Pennsylvania in which young people may be prepared for the ministry. The motives which led us to such thoughts are as follows: First, because the reverent fathers in sending the ministers have not only great trouble but also great expense, although some ministers fail, either bringing a stain with them or cannot accustom themselves to the ways of this country. Second, many young people in this country who have great ability would like to devote themselves to the services of the church, if they only had an opportunity, and many inhabitants have a greater confidence in natives than in foreigners just come in, because several times they have fared badly. Third, the English who are here are just establishing a school at Carlisle for which purpose they desired our assistance at our last Cœtus. Since we had reason to fear that this might suppress the German language and even our nation and might be to the disadvantage of our religion we excused ourselves."

The reason just assigned by the stated clerk for refusing to join in the establishment of Dickinson College brings us to the fourth motive that was in the minds of the founders of Franklin College. It was their intention to start here in Lancaster a school, the specific purpose of which was the education of the Germans of Pennsylvania who at that time constituted one third of the inhabitants of the state.



The thirty years war followed by the French invasion of the Palatinate with all its consequent barbarity and misery had caused tens of thousands of German immigrants to hasten down the Rhine to Holland, then to be transported to England, after which they were finally brought to the American colonies. It was a migration that extended through the greater part of the eighteenth century. Most of these exiles from home found their way into Pennsylvania. There were some good scholars among them who compared favorably with the best educated men of their time. They brought with them some excellent teachers, such as Boehm, Weisz, a graduate of the University of Heidelberg, Christopher Dock, the author of the first pedagogical work published in America, Stiefel, Hock, Leutbecker, all of them of German trait.

Benjamin Franklin was interested in the education of these German immigrants for reasons given this morning by the worthy President of the board of trustees. He was the first American on record who had visited a German university, having in 1776 attended a meeting of a royal society in Göttingen. It was probably through his influence that the trustees of the Philadelphia College as early as 1754 had appointed a professor of French and German languages, a fact that is noteworthy when one considers that Ticknor could not find even a German dictionary at Harvard as late as 1820.

When the Philadelphia College was developed into a university and received the new charter in 1779, a significant change was made in the constituency of the board of trustees of that institution, which led to a new epoch of German instruction at that institution. According to the new charter the six strongest denominations in Philadelphia were to be represented in a board of trustees at the University of Pennsylvania. It was in this way that two eminent German divines, John Christopher Kuntze, of the Lutheran Church, and Caspar Deitrick Weiberg, pastor of the Race Street Reformed Church of Philadelphia, became members of the board of trustees. Largely through the influence of these two German



pastors the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania passed this resolution, January 10, 1780, viz.: "A German Professor of Philology should be appointed and his duty should be to teach the Latin and Greek languages through the medium of the German tongue, both in the academy and in the university." Kuntze was elected to fill the chair and served from 1780 to 1784. His successor was Heinrich Helmuth, a man who had served as pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, and who at the time of his election to the chair of German philology was pastor of Zion's and St. Michael's churches of Philadelphia.

Whether the department of German philology at the university was a success or a failure under Dr. Helmuth is an open question. Whether the German department of the university was transferred to Lancaster because of its growing demands or because of its temporary decline cannot, at this time, be fully determined. Dr. Learned, in his illuminating address on the subject delivered at the opening of the Beckstein Library, takes the position that the department was discontinued in Philadelphia in 1787 because of failure. He says the causes of decline seem to have been two: First of all, the constant and systematic efforts of the English to anglicize the Germans. This led to a corresponding fear on the part of the Germans that they would lose their German characteristics. Secondly, the preponderating influence of the English in the university and the secondary position to which the Germans were reduced. Hence the complaint of Weiberg: "Must they forever remain hewers of wood?" It is also worthy of note that the men who were active in the German department of the university were prominent in founding Franklin College. Weiberg and Helmuth are the connecting links. Dr. Larned concludes that it was a certain alienation of the Germans which led to this separation of the German and English forces of the state, and that it was thus that the seat of German academic education was transferred to Lancaster in the founding



of Franklin College to meet the specific needs of the Germans. In this view Mr. J. J. Rosengarden concurs in his address made at the same occasion, the opening of the Beckstein Library. He says: "The experiment to teach German in the old College and later in the university was not successful but it led to the establishment of what is to-day Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, which was to do for our Germans what the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania had not been able to do."

Be that as it may, out of these several motives there came as early as December 11, 1786, an application signed exclusively by Philadelphians to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, praying for a charter of incorporation, for a German college and charity school to be established in Lancaster, stating also that there were prospects of considerable private contributions for carrying this design into effect and applying for a donation of a proportion of the lands that were appropriated by a former assembly for the support of public schools. A general plan of the college to be established was sent with this petition. This plan stated that the petitioners had taken into consideration the necessity and advantage of diffusing literature among their German fellow citizens and had made choice of the borough of Lancaster for the establishment of a college because of the central and healthy situation of the place, the character of its inhabitants, the conveniences with which students of every description might be accommodated with board and lodging and the probability that the necessary buildings might be secured at a moderate expense.

The plan further suggests that the design of the institution is to promote an accurate knowledge of the German and English languages, also of the learned languages, of mathematics, morals and natural philosophy, divinity and all such other branches of literature as will tend to make men good citizens. The institution was under the direction of forty trustees, fourteen of whom were to be from the Lutheran Church and fourteen from the Reformed Church, the remaining trustees to be



chosen indiscriminately from any other society of Christians. The principals of the institution were to be chosen from the Reformed and Lutheran Churches alternately, unless such of the trustees as belonged to these societies should unanimously agree to choose some suitable person from any other society of Christians. From a profound respect for the character of His Excellency the President of the State, the institution was to be called Franklin College. This petition was signed first by Thomas McKean, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the assembly of 1762, a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania from 1777 to 1799 and governor of the state from 1799 to 1808, a man who had received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Princeton, Dartmouth and the University of Pennsylvania. It was further signed by John H. C. Helmuth, a man who had received his training at Halle, who had come to America as a missionary to the Germans, had held prominent pastorate in the Lutheran Church and, as already noted, was the occupant of the chair of German philology in the University of Pennsylvania. Another signer was Caspar Weiberg, a prominent minister of the Reformed Church, a man who when the British held possession of Philadelphia preached to the Hessian mercenaries with such patriotic fervor that the British, feeling the effects of his fearless appeals in the desertion of many of their Hessians, threatened his life and threw him into prison. The name of Peter Mühlenberg, the soldier preacher of the Revolution, is also appended to this petition. He was at that time vice-president of the executive council of Pennsylvania, a major general in the American army and later a noted United States senator. Following his name is that of Benjamin Rush, one of the most eminent men of the Revolution and of the generation following, a man who had graduated from Princeton, had studied medicine in London, Edinburgh and Paris, had been an incumbent in medical schools of the chairs of chemistry, and the theory and practice of medicine, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a



surgeon in the American Revolution, a writer and philanthropist of wide renown. We note also the names of William Rawle, a distinguished jurist, of Lewis Farmer, an officer of the American Revolution, and of several other men of distinction.

That the petitioners were justified in their statement that they had prospects of obtaining funds to carry their designs into effect is seen in the first subscription lists of Franklin College which is headed by His Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., with a subscription of £200, followed by the names of Robert Morris, Peter Mühlenberg and a number of other eminent men.

In recognition of the petition referred to, the Legislature of Pennsylvania granted a charter to Franklin College on the 10th of March, 1787. The first section of this document reads as follows: "Whereas the citizens of this state of German birth or extraction have eminently contributed by their industry, economy and public virtues to raise the state to its present happiness and prosperity and whereas a number of citizens of the above description in conjunction with others, from a desire to increase and perpetuate the blessings derived to them from the possession of property and a free government, have applied to this house for a charter of incorporation and a donation of lands for the purpose of establishing and endowing a college and a charity school in the borough of Lancaster, and whereas the preservation of the Christian religion and of our republican form of government in their purity depends under God in a great measure on the establishment and support of suitable places of education for the purpose of training up a succession of youth, who by being enabled fully to understand the grounds of both may be led the more zealously to practice the one or the more strenuously to defend the other, therefore be it enacted and it is hereby enacted by the representatives of the free men of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and by the authority of the same, that there shall be and hereby is enacted and established in the said borough of Lancaster and the county of Lancaster



in this state a college and charity school for the instruction of youth in the German, English, Latin, Greek and other learned languages, in theology and the useful arts, sciences and literature, the title and constitution of which college shall be as is hereinafter set forth, that is to say, from a profound respect for the talents, virtues and services to mankind in general but more especially to this country of His Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., President of the Supreme Executive Council, the said College shall be and hereby is denominated Franklin College."

Then follows a list of the first trustees of the college, a long line of influential men. Four of them, Rush, McKean, Clymer, and Morris, had been signers of the Declaration of Independence. A number of them, Mühlenberg, Mifflin, Daniel and Joseph Hiester, Chambers, Farmer, Crawford, and others, had been officers in the Revolutionary War. Mifflin, McKean and Joseph Hiester became governors of Pennsylvania. Several of the trustees became senators of the United States, a number were prominent citizens of Lancaster, Casper Schaffner, Jasper Yeates and others. There were names of Reformed, Lutheran and Moravian ministers; the Catholic priest of Lancaster was also on the list. These trustees were empowered by their charter to take to themselves and their successors for the use of the College, "not more than the yearly value of £10,000, valuing one Portugal half Johannes weighing nine penny weight at three pounds."

The trustees were instructed in the charter to meet in the borough of Lancaster on the 5th day of June, to make and enact ordinances for the government of the college, to appoint the principal, vice-principal and professors to be known as the faculty of Franklin College, which faculty shall have the power of enforcing the rules and regulations adopted by the trustees for the government of the pupils by rewarding or censuring them, and by suspending such of them as after repeated admonitions shall continue disobedient and refractory (which sounds quite modern), and of granting degrees in the



liberal arts and sciences to such pupils or other persons who by their proficiency or learning or other meritorious distinctions they shall think entitled to a degree. An interesting phase of this old charter was the explicit statement that the trustees were to be confined to the state and any member of the board who should remove from the state and settle elsewhere should be deemed to have resigned his office. It was further provided that in order to secure the beneficial effects which have been generally found to result from the zealous and industrious exertions of the clergy in the education of youth, whenever the seat of a clergyman shall become vacant, such vacancy shall be filled by the election of another clergyman in his place, so nevertheless that the aforesaid proportion of Lutheran and Reformed trustees shall invariably prevail.

The fifteenth section of the charter explains the charity-school feature of the early college. "To facilitate the acquisition of learning to all ranks of people being one of the primary and fundamental objects of this institution, one sixth part of the capital, the real and personal fund of the college, not including the moneys paid for tuition, shall be irrevocably appropriated, together with such gifts and bequests as may be hereafter made to the college for that special purpose, to the maintenance and support of a charity school for children of both sexes, and all religious denominations on this most liberal plan consistent with the ability of said college." The charter also conferred 10,000 acres of land upon the trustees of Franklin College with the privilege of disposing of the same for the upbuilding of the institution.

According to the provision of the charter a meeting of the trustees was called in Lancaster, June 6, 1787. A printed circular was sent out by pastors Helmuth and Weiberg announcing that the first German college in America was about to be founded. The circular opens by stating that agreeable prospects have been opened to the German nation in this western land, and God has especially blessed the Germans in Pennsylvania, that while numbers of them were poor and forsaken



when they came to this country, their industry and the blessing of the Lord had placed many of them in prosperous circumstances. The circular further states that while the Germans have helped to make Pennsylvania the "Garden Spot of North America" they have not considered that a true republican must also possess education so as to take part in directing the rudder of the government and to give its children an opportunity of rising to the higher levels of republican utility. Now, continues the circular, the fortunate moment has arrived for the Germans, for in this first German college in America not only the Germans but many not Germans were deeply interested.

Extensive preparations were made for the formal opening and dedication of the new college. Invitations were sent broadcast. The Lutheran Ministerium and the Reformed Cœtus both met in Lancaster by special appointment during the week of the opening so that all the ministers could attend the exercises at dedication. Almost all the members of the board of trustees were present at the first meeting, a long line of carriages bringing many of them over sixty-six miles of road from Philadelphia. Representatives from the principal towns of Pennsylvania were at hand and as the late lamented Dr. Jos. H. Dubbs in his invaluable studies and researches on the early history of Franklin College has thoroughly established, Benjamin Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, left his activities as a member of the Constitutional Convention meeting in Philadelphia to be present at the dedication of the college to be named in his honor.

It must have been an imposing sight that met the gaze of the citizens of Lancaster on the morning of June 6, 1787. The procession marching from the courthouse to the German Lutheran Church headed by the sheriff and coroner of the county, followed by pupils and faculty and trustees of the college, and officers of the Reformed, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Episcopalian and Moravian congregations of Lancaster, then by the members of the Reformed Synod and



Lutheran Ministerium and finally by the officers of the militia.

At the dedicatory service hymns and odes in German and English were sung. The German address was delivered by Heinrich Mühlenberg, the first president of the college. A printed copy of this address is in our archives and furnishes intensely interesting reading. Its *theme* is the value of a well-directed culture and is addressed particularly to the German parents and patrons of the institution. "My German brethren," he said, "you ought to thank God and next to God the commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the erection of this institution in your midst under the care of men whose ability and faithfulness you know. Fortunate is this city and the community. Your children shall not only be taught the fundamentals of religion and other necessary elements of knowledge but also the higher sciences. Doubly fortunate are the children of the poor to receive such an education without money and without price. Seize your opportunity. This college is for you Germans in America as yet the only one of its kind. Fellow citizens," he continued, "do not neglect it. To neglect it would be black ingratitude against God and against those who mean well to the Germans. Send your children; they will receive faithful instruction. Do not let them receive only the elements of knowledge, but give them the joy of going further and of learning also the higher sciences and the learned languages. Oh, Christian men, believers in Christ in this wilderness of the west, let your children study spiritual things, that they may sometime become useful witnesses of the teaching of our Lord in this community." Then he added: "We see assembled here the sum total of the teachers of German Christians in this land. So few among so many thousand. Help, ye men of Israel, that more laborers may be sent forth into this great harvest." Then he urged them not only to use the institution but also to help its advancement by counsel, intercession, good wishes and tangible deeds. "Strangers," he continues, "convinced of the necessity and the glorious consequences of a liberal culture, have already



done much and will do more as soon as they see that you are in earnest. Strangers who do not speak our language, our English brethren, have done this to their praise, be it openly said. What German will now be able to close his heart and his hand to this enterprise, beautiful and noble as it is, for the advancement of God's glory and the furtherance of the German race? The city and county of Lancaster," he continues, "have up to this time had the name of doing much for public institutions. How much they have already done for strangers among whom their reputation for charitableness has been resounded far and wide. Fellow citizens, let not your reputation wane. The eyes of many eminent strangers and well-wishers and of all German teachers in this country are upon you to-day. Your children in generations to come will rise up and call you blessed." President Mühlenberg that day spoke with the voice of a prophet.

The English address was delivered by Dr. Joseph Hutchins, rector of St. James Episcopal Church of Lancaster, who had been chosen professor of English in the new institution. He was invited to make one of the opening addresses in order to show that the college was founded for the cultivation of the English language as well as for literary purposes. A remarkable feature is that this English address was not printed until twenty years after it was delivered. This was due probably to a certain common-sense frankness of expression on the part of Dr. Hutchins in regard to the study of English. Among other things he said: "Let this school be the vehicle of a more accurate and more general knowledge of the English language. Whatever impediments you throw in the course of spreading this language in its true pronunciation and elements among your children will be so many obstructions to their future interests in private and in public. As the limited capacity of man can very seldom attain excellence in more than one language, the study of English will consequently demand the principal attention of your children. I recommend this preference solely because it is the language of the United States,



because it is the language of those laws and the courts of judicature by which your prosperity must be governed and their privileges secured. Upon the same principle of benevolence to the rising generation and of duty to the government that protected me I should be prompted if I lived in Germany to advise such Americans or Englishmen who had settled in that country to train up their children in a decided preference of the German language. Common sense pronounces it the duty of every parent to teach his children the prevailing language of the country in which they are likely to reside as citizens or subjects. On the score of religion we can have no reasonable objection to the use of the English tongue. Because it is undoubtedly as proper as the German for the conveyance of religious instruction to your children. The German may be studied as a secondary useful language but no English-American would wish to withhold it from that view, for we must all allow a skill in languages to be frequently a useful and at all times an ornamental part of a liberal education." Then he makes an earnest plea for help for the education of the poor and needy and closes with a beautiful reference to Christ as the great teacher of teachers, whose religion leaves to men the right of private judgment, free as the air you breathe, whose service is perfect freedom, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life.

The dedicatory prayer was delivered by John Herbst, minister of the United Brethren Congregation of Lancaster, the manuscript copy of which, in beautiful handwriting, is still in the archives of the college. A German Philadelphia newspaper, of Tuesday, June 19, 1787, gives a graphic account of the dedicatory exercises from the pen of one who was present on that occasion. He writes: "Yesterday it was my good fortune to be present at an event which for this part of Pennsylvania was entirely new, as well as of great consequence, namely, the founding and dedication of a college. On this occasion thousands of people from all the neighboring communities had assembled. The ceremonies made a great im-



pression on the large gathering. The whole thing was carried on with such an order and magnificence that words fail me in describing it. One circumstance which must have impressed itself deeply on the heart of every conscientious man must be noted. It was a circumstance concerning which we may say that the like had not been seen heretofore in any land or among any people. On the same day, in the same church and in the same assembly of Christians, ministers of four different religions united one after the other in praising the most high Being. It is a prophecy of a coming kingdom of Christ. With the founding of this college a new epoch will begin in Pennsylvania. The introduction of the English language among our Germans who constitute at least one third the inhabitants of this state cannot help but prove to be a blessing to themselves and to the commonwealth. Their own language too will be preserved from decay and corruption, because in this college it is to be studied grammatically a circumstance which will enable them to bring all the discoveries of learned Europe to this country."

The first faculty of Franklin College was composed of men concerning whom Benjamin Rush said that a cluster of more learned or better qualified masters had not met in any university. Concerning its first president, Dr. Mühlenberg, and his work in natural history, we need say nothing after the exhaustive address delivered at the commencement this morning by our honored Dr. Schiedt. Suffice it to say that Dr. Schoepf, the eminent German traveler, has recorded in his book on travels in the Confederation the fact that "if among Mühlenberg's countrymen there were many of his exemplary zeal after knowledge America would soon know better its own production and natural history would be greatly enriched." Dr. Wm. Hendel, the vice-president of the college, had been educated at Heidelberg, Germany, came to this country under the auspices of the Synod of Holland and was twice pastor of the Reformed Church of Lancaster. One of his contemporaries has written of him: "This man is one of the best



preachers that I have been acquainted with in America. He possesses much science and knowledge, and without any sectarian or haughty spirit, he is in heart consecrated to the cause of true godliness." That was a great deal to say of any man in the eighteenth century. Dr. Harbaugh called him the St. John of the German Reformed Church. Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, educated at the University of Helmstadt, was the first professor of Greek, Latin and German in Franklin College. He was a voluminous writer and achieved distinction as a scientist, having frequently been called the father of American entomology, because of his collection in natural history which is now a part of the Agassiz museum of Harvard University, because of his work on the insects of Pennsylvania, the first publication of its kind in this country and because of his more pretentious work on the description of the insects of North America. William Reichenbach, professor of mathematics, trained in the schools of France, was an extensive writer on religious subjects. The Rev. Jos. Hutchins, the professor of English, was trained in the University of Philadelphia under doctors Smith and Allison, and was considered a valuable man. It would indeed be an interesting study to trace the names of all the true and worthy men associated with Franklin College in its sixty-six years of independent existence. There was James Ross, great classical scholar, editor of a celebrated Latin grammar; there was Frederick Augustus Mühlenberg; there was Professor Brownlee, who was subsequently called to a professorship in Rutgers College, and Professor Schipper, who with Dr. Mühlenberg, published an English-German and German-English dictionary, the first of its kind printed in America.

In spite of all the splendid preparations, however, that were made for a German college in Pennsylvania, or rather for a college on behalf of the Germans, it cannot be said that Franklin College fulfilled the immediate expectations of its well-meaning founders. German influence in American education was not yet destined to be either consecutive or lasting.



French influence seemed to be stronger in American education immediately after the Revolution than the German. The American Academy of Sciences and Arts in the United States was founded in consequence of French influence. The University of Virginia was founded by Thomas Jefferson according to French likeness, and it looked at one time as though Jefferson might transfer the whole faculty of Geneva to Virginia. While the French influence was to be largely supplanted by the German in the American educational institution of the nineteenth century, one feels that Franklin College was born almost too early to get the full benefit of all the impetus that ought to have come to it from the land of Schiller and Goethe, of Kant and Fichte and Schelling.

Yet Franklin College was not a failure. It was a prophecy. We have no apologies to make for the long, hard years of earnest struggle on the part of the friends and patrons of the institution. It fought its way through a period of deep darkness, almost of despair at times, but in 1849 after sixty-two years of existence, the board of trustees could with good conscience place on record the following resolution: "this institution is worthy of the honorable name she has assumed and will retain it. Since the year 1787, under adverse circumstances, she has sustained a classical and mathematical school, without participating in the bounty of the state. It is true she received ten thousand acres as a donation in waste lands from the state, but for many years worthless and expensive to the corporation; nevertheless by careful conduct and an economical policy, she has accumulated a capital of \$40,000, whilst other sister institutions, although sectarian, and receiving the full bounty of the state, have failed."

This resolution was passed while negotiations were going on which resulted in the agreement that "one third of the money belonging to Franklin College should be transferred to the trustees of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg to endow with it the Franklin Professorship, the remaining two thirds to be retained at Lancaster and given to the trustees of Mar-



shall College, on condition of its removal to Lancaster, and its carrying on collegiate operations under the name of Franklin and Marshall College.”

Another reason why Franklin College did not in its early days meet all the immediate expectations of its patrons is perhaps the fact that it was not really an outgrowth of German life. It stood, as has been well said, “not so much for what the German citizens of Pennsylvania were doing for themselves educationally as for what was being done in their behalf by others.” It was a movement impelled from without rather than from within.

Yet in a very real sense Franklin College achieved its mission. The fourfold motive entering into its formation has never been lost in the 125 years of its existence. The civic, the humanistic, the religious motives, and the emphasis on German scholarship and thought and life has in a very decided measure characterized the history of this institution for 125 years. A century and a quarter is a long time for any American institution. There is not a written political constitution in the world to-day as old as that. A century and a quarter takes us back to the very springs of our national history and the very sources of our national character. The world has changed marvelously in that time. Empires and republics have come and gone. Dynasties have disappeared and new ones have risen into power. The whole educational system of the world has been revolutionized by German thought, life and scholarship. Our own fair city of Lancaster has been transformed from a small inland town of 900 houses to a large and prosperous city surrounded not by an unsubdued forest but by the garden of the world. Through all the years in which these changes have taken place this old college has under various forms maintained its organization and has held stoutly on its way through gladness and at times through gloom, through sunshine and at times through storm. It is a source of satisfaction to recall on this anniversary occasion that through all these years this third oldest college in



Pennsylvania has entwined itself by many continuous threads with the history of this city and of this commonwealth. The growth of this old college has been like that of a venerable oak, with its spreading roots, its many branches, its constantly enlarging ramifications, its long years of usefulness to mankind. In its long life it has acquired the dignity of age without its decay. Though old in years, it still has the privilege of youth, the fair, far outlook of existence in its prime. We who have gathered to rejoice on this anniversary occasion in the richness of our history, and the manifoldness of our work in the past, unite on this Charter Anniversary in the hope that this college, hallowed by associations (religious and civic) for a century and a quarter, may move down thru the generations to come with an ever enlarged sphere of usefulness, with ever enlarged responsibilities, with ever increased resources for the accomplishment of its work—ever more full of gladness and growth and the grace of God.

The fathers had the honor to organize commonwealths, and to establish colleges. In the same unbroken spirit of loyalty to truth, justice and right, it is given to us, the sons, to maintain the commonwealths and colleges they founded. May the blessings of that God of Truth and Righteousness whom the fathers saw like one of old an unconsuming splendor in the wilderness be upon us as he was upon them, and fill us once more with the burning heart of youth, with a hope that is high, and a thought that is free, a life that is brave and deeds that are true, as we recall to-day our alma mater and

“The nobly living, nobly dead,  
The glorious sons that she has bred.”

LANCASTER, PA.



## VII.

### CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

REV. A. S. WEBER, D.D.

#### A VITALISTIC IDEALIST'S VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY.

The recognized exponent and principal leader of the movement of thought known as vitalistic idealism is Rudolf Eucken, professor of philosophy in the University of Jena, Germany. He has a lengthy and notable list of substantial and important contributions to philosophical and theological literature standing to his credit. Until recently only a few of his learned treatises were available to English readers. This accounts probably for the fact that aside from one or two incidental references to Eucken, *THE REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW* has hitherto not taken any notice of this distinguished German idealist. Two circumstances now combine to make this a not inopportune time for these notes on current thought to call attention to Eucken and his attitude toward present-day problems, especially toward traditional doctrine and institutional Christianity: The first is the appearance of an English translation of his book on *The Truth of Religion* which is considered by many to have an epoch-making significance and to share with his *Problem of Human Life* the honor of setting forth the maturest thought and genius of the author. The second is Eucken's personal presence at this time in America, whose university circles in particular, and the thinking public in general, have long been awaiting his arrival on this side of the water. On every side men are expressing desire to see and hear, to welcome and honor this visitor, whom many re-



gard as one of the most potent and widely-influential forces known to the intellectual and religious world of to-day.

The amazing vogue of his name and writings is of itself a striking testimony to the value which those acquainted with the nature and import of Euckenism place upon his writings, as well as to the importance of the service he is believed by such to be rendering to the cause of truth in this perplexing period of intellectual distress and religious disquietude. Seldom in the history of thought have the pathbreakers in their lifetime won for their ideas so numerous and enthusiastic a discipleship as has Eucken. It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that this forceful protagonist of a new idealism is wielding his great influence as the result of a subservient purpose to win popularity. His command of so large a following is not due to anything like a sudden, comet-like burst of a new and hitherto unknown star of first magnitude and brilliancy into the intellectual and spiritual heavens of the present day. The award to him of the Nobel Prize four years ago, marks, indeed, the date which brought him international prominence, but long before that incident his professorial career, covering upwards of forty years, was constantly and increasingly effective in the direction of establishing his fame and justifying the power now so generally acknowledged to be rightly his.

Among those properly informed, very few will dispute the assertion that to Eucken, more than to any one other man, belongs the credit of having successfully counteracted the poisonous influence of the naturalism of Hegel, the pessimism of Schopenhauer, the positivism of Comte, and the subjective emotionalism of Nietzsche, and of substituting in place of the misleading speculations of those philosophical errorists a Christian "*Weltanschauung*." No one has rendered greater or more signally important service than he, in the way of moulding the thought and life of so large a number of students and through them a larger public, in accordance with vital religious conceptions and spiritual ideals of the highest order. In



all this, for nearly half a century, he was sowing the seed from which the abundant harvests, over which he has now the satisfaction of rejoicing, have so luxuriantly grown. "Students from all the quarters of the earth," an informed and appreciative critic of his writes, "flock to Jena year after year to sit at the feet of a man whose idealism serves not only as a philosophical rallying-ground for all who are engaged in the struggle for a concrete spiritual experience, but finds expression, also, in a singularly attractive and benignant personality, whose influence reinforces its teaching in a characteristic and indelible way." But the outreach of Eucken's influence is not to be measured by the numerical strength of the students who make the pilgrimage to Jena in order to come into personal touch with this master-mind. His writings are rapidly finding their way through translations to all thinking and discerning nations, and studied the world over by vastly larger numbers, many of whom find his solution of the difficult intellectual and religious problems of our time at once satisfying and welcome, all such being ready, therefore, to adopt as their own the principles and ideals held up to them by this inspiring and illuminating teacher.

In a remarkably interesting and brilliantly able critique<sup>1</sup> of Eucken and his thought, it is pointed out that the work of the Jena professor falls naturally into two periods—the historico-critical and the constructive. It does not come within the scope of our present purpose to give consideration to any of his books belonging to the first of these periods. The space allotted to these "Notes" requires us to confine our present examination to the two translated volumes mentioned above in the first paragraph, both of which belong to the constructive period.

One of their striking features is the wonderful wealth of thoroughly mastered and assimilated learning which Eucken has at his command, and which he lays under tribute in the

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. E. Hermann's *Eucken and Bergson, Their Significance for Christian Thought*. Cloth. 220 pages. Price \$1.00 net.



course of his lucid discussions and the charming presentation of his contentions. His *Problem of Human Life*, which, it may be remembered, was reviewed by me in a *Messenger* article a few years ago just after my first reading of it, makes it perfectly plain that the author knows at first hand what views of life were held, what problems perplexed, what solutions to those problems were proposed, by all the great thinkers from Plato and Aristotle to Hegel and Spencer, from John and Paul to Schleiermacher and Ritschl, from Hippocrates and Galen to Darwin and Huxley. And in his personal search for the truth he frankly claims and exercises the right of accepting or rejecting the views of others as may be required, in the light of present-day knowledge, by his own findings. Traditionalism, however hoary with age, wields no compelling authority over his mind. New-found truths, however unpopular and revolutionary, once they are recognized as such by him, are adopted and employed without hesitation or fear. An illustration of this is afforded, for instance, by the fact that his mind is openly hospitable to the evolutionary idea which pervades through and through the thought of all his constructive efforts. "Without Darwinism," someone has observed, "we should not have had Euckenism." The renowned Englishman's conception of the divine method of working is, in a modified form, carried by Eucken into fields of inquiry which Darwin did not enter, and the evolutionary principles applied by him to the study of questions which the great English scientist did not discuss. In like manner, to mention in passing another illustrative example, he accepts the new historical methods of investigation not only as valid but as binding upon all desirous of disengaging the eternal verities from the entanglements and accretions of time and circumstance,—this no less in the realm of religion than in the domain of philosophy, history or science.

What is the outcome of Eucken's untrammelled and fearless use of such methods and principles in his study of the supremely important religious problems of our time? We have



his own answer in the last of his books published in an English translation,—*The Truth of Religion*.<sup>2</sup> It goes without saying that there is in this answer much that is arresting even to the most open-minded students of the subjects dealt with in this volume, and a great deal more that will alarm ultra-conservative churchmen. Neither of these parties after reading the book will question, however, its tremendous importance. Believers and unbelievers, progressives and reactionaries, the churches and the opponents of the churches, will have to reckon with what the author declares it is necessary to surrender and with what he affirms to be equally necessary to retain. Here lies the secret of the stir it is creating, a stir of which a great deal will doubtless be heard for a good while to come. Here lies also its vast significance. It represents not simply an individual theologian, but interprets with profound insight a mighty and ever-deepening movement of thought and feeling which proclaims, on the one hand, the necessity of religion and the absoluteness of Christianity, and on the other hand the equally absolute necessity of the reconstruction of doctrinal formulas and of the reformation of institutional Christianity.

Before passing on to indicate particulars with reference to his rejections of theological dogmas and the suggested reconstructions which he regards compulsory, a word may be said in a general way about the foundations upon which his argument rests. These are laid deep and upon sound psychological bases. For whatever defects Eucken's work may be blamed by readers of his book, none of them will charge him with being superficial. He digs to the root of things, is radical in the true sense of the word. He sounds the utmost depths of the consciousness of our time and surveys its entire area, in order to show how religion appears in relation to that consciousness. He reviews the deep-seated oppositions that have developed in the course of the last century, opposition

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf Eucken's *The Truth of Religion*. Translated by W. T. Jones. Cloth. Price \$3.50. Williams and Norgate, London.



from science, from philosophy, from the seeming cosmic indifference to the spiritual, from the work of criticism, from the new historic methods of investigation, from the world's wrongs and evils, individual and social, from the naturalistic interpretation of the universe, and from the apparently opposite trend of the life-current itself. He does not underestimate the stupendous force with which these joint oppositions assail what he calls the "absolute life" of the soul, the spiritual side of human nature. But the very strength of these combined oppositions is used by him to bring out in a more striking and convincing way the reality of man's spiritual constitution and the priority of its religious claims. With an insistence that is as strenuous in itself as it is irresistible in its effect, he points out that "the very existence of the oppositions reveals the fact that there is something in man that can be opposed, and that something is a reality in the human soul and justifies the inference that there is an answering reality in the nature of things as divinely constituted. This reality exists in and beyond what appears outwardly. It comes to expression in the emergence of the moral law, with its imperatives, its sanctions, its inner satisfactions and rewards."

But not only does this reality express itself in the life of individuals, it is embodied also in what our author describes as "characteristic" religions, historical faiths, in which God manifests Himself. All historical religions have somewhat of reality in them. To Eucken's mind they are not to be considered "irreconcilable opponents, but co-workers in the great enterprise of the spiritual uplift and redemption of mankind. In their doctrine of love, of forgiveness, which are taught by other religions than Christianity, they show a deepening of the real life, which could never have originated in, and issued from, the selfishness and impurity characteristic of the ordinary impulses of the merely natural man." And first among the "characteristic" or historical religions Christianity must be placed, because it is "in the nature of its substance the highest embodiment of the 'Absolute' that is conceivable, and



its ultimate nature, therefore, is unquestionable." "In its relation to human suffering, its depth and richness of 'inwardness,' its insistence on the union of the divine and human, in its warm love for all humanity, and in its linkage of the life of all mankind to a divine and eternal order," the loftiest claims of supremacy that have ever been made for Christianity are fully vindicated.

With this positive attitude toward Christianity, so vigorously defended and maintained, Eucken's rejections will to many of his readers seem inconsistent and to stand in an irreconcilable contrast. In a luminous sentence his position as to the doctrinal forms in which Christianity has been handed down to us from earlier ages is excellently summarized by Mrs. Hermann: "Viewing the traditional dogmatic form of Christianity as superseded and out of consonance with the legitimate ideals and thought of the age," she writes, "Eucken pleads for a liberalism which, while discarding outworn dogma, will delve all the deeper into the divine and eternal substance of Christianity, and, while demanding a restatement germane to the demands of the time, will wage war against its superficial, relaxed and unspiritual temper." He insists, to quote his own words, that "a fundamental revision of its traditional evidential form has become absolutely necessary. The need of to-day is the separation of its eternal contents from merely human and transitory accretions." What some of these accretions, as he sees them, are may be gathered from these facts: He is against the Church's conception of miracles, including that of the bodily resurrection of Jesus. He finds it a grave misrepresentation of the doctrine of Incarnation to restrict it to one point in history, as is done in the dogma of the Virgin Birth. It is, in his view, not a single historical event, but a process in the accomplishment of the union of the divine and human. To his mind, moreover, the dogma of the two natures in Jesus and the placing of him as the second person in the Trinity is a perversion of fact in the interests of Greek metaphysics. He recognizes the value



of the Church as a rallying point for faith, a preserver of continuity, and for its work in deepening and enriching the average human life. But he protests with immense energy against its manifold perversions, its externalizing of faith, its mechanical routine, its dragging down of things spiritual into the service of personal ambitions or for the success of ecclesiastical intrigue. The Pauline conception of redemption can not be regarded as final, in the sense that every deviation from it must be labeled as "irregular" and idiosyncratic. Augustine rendered Christianity an ill service by his doctrine of original sin, his determinism which annihilates the human will, and his rigid doctrine of the Church which makes passive obedience the key to personal salvation.

This condensation of Eucken's lengthy discussion of what he thinks must be surrendered is necessarily imperfect and unsatisfactory, but it will serve to indicate the cause of the violent opposition which in strictly "orthodox" quarters has been aroused by his views and the enthusiastic acclaim with which they are so widely received. "What remains," such ones ask, "when all he surrenders has been cast aside?" "Can we still be Christians?" The latter question appealed to Eucken as a challenge. He adopted it from the lips of his hostile critics and made it the title of his latest work—*Können Wir Noch Christen Sein?*—in the pages of which he furnishes an explicit reply, the substance of which may be stated in a few sentences: "Yes, we reply, we not only can be, we must be Christians. Man is constitutionally religious, essentially spiritual. Christianity is the absolute, the ultimate religion, and alone furnishes that which can meet human needs. We can be Christians, however, only if Christianity is recognized to be what it really is, a world-historical movement still in flux; if it is shaken out of its vitrification and placed upon the broader basis to which its inherent nature and character preeminently entitle it. To place it upon that basis is the supreme task of the scholarship and manhood of our time and the reassuring hope of our Religion's future." It is hardly to



be expected that this answer will prove satisfyingly acceptable to all the followers of Jesus, but it will surely minister to the comfort of many who to the distress of their hearts have been obliged, in the light of new knowledge, to relinquish their hold upon traditional conceptions and statements of the truth. Possibly the time may come when all of us may be able to see eye to eye with such brethren. Meanwhile, it should be recognized that Eucken is not to be silenced by a shrug of the shoulder, or his influence arrested by the wave of a hand. He is working like leaven in a multitude of the most thoughtful minds of the day, just as Zwingli and Luther, Schleiermacher and Ritschl worked in those of their generation, and the outcome of the movement he is leading may be not only as revolutionary, but as signally beneficial, to Christianity as were those headed by the four names mentioned, in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Do not conditions in Church and state show that the times are ripe for the occurrence of such a hallowed and hallowing event in human history?

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.



## VIII.

### CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY.

A. V. HIESTER.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) shares with Louis Blanc the distinction of forming the connecting link between the older and the newer types of socialism. He was of humble birth, his father having been a brewer's cooper and his mother a cook. But the boy was ambitious, and managed by dint of hard work and severe self-denial to secure a fair education in the schools, which he supplemented by incessant private study. His occupation of proof-reader of ecclesiastical works gave him a ready familiarity with theology. He knew also Hebrew as well as Greek and Latin. But notwithstanding the abstruse character of his studies he remained a man of the people. His sympathies were ever with the masses, and the master passion of his mature life was to elevate the condition of the laboring classes. It was with this in mind that he turned from his theological and philological studies and took up the study of political economy.

The first fruit of Proudhon's economic studies was a treatise entitled *L'Utilité de la Celebration du Dimanche*, which was published in 1838, and which contains the germs of his revolutionary ideas. The following year appeared the work which made him famous, *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?* This was followed in 1846 by his *Système des Contradictions Economiques, ou Philosophie de la Misère*, which is a bitter indictment of the existing social order. But Proudhon was an indefatigable writer, and the works just named represent only a small part of his writings which comprise thirty-seven volumes exclusive of fourteen volumes of correspondence.



As a writer Proudhon is utterly lacking in system. With a lofty disdain of order he jumbles together the most incongruous things. He delights in dialectic. He loves to play with ideas and arrange them in every possible combination. He exaggerates. He contradicts. He perplexes. He shocks. His writings abound in paradoxes. His chief delight is to unsettle established opinions and beliefs. He destroys but rarely constructs. A professed disciple of Hegel he raises contradiction to the level of a principle, and continually sets forth thesis and antithesis but rarely synthesis. Because of the negative and destructive quality of his writings, and their lack of system and order, Proudhon is little read to-day. He has had little direct influence of a permanent character, and has left behind him no school.

It is difficult to reduce the ideas of so illogical a thinker to order and consistency. Like most social renovators of the radical sort Proudhon finds the greatest obstacle to a just social order in the institution of private property. But unlike others before him he is not content to regard private property merely as a practical obstacle. He is not satisfied until he has placed upon it a moral stigma. And so he attempts to prove, as others have done since, that private property is a moral evil, and that it can find no justification either in the theory of occupation or in that of labor. In a word, property is robbery, robbery because it enables him who has not produced to consume the fruits of others' toil, which he appropriates without rendering therefor an equivalent. This then is the answer to the question which forms the title of his famous treatise. "*Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?*" "*La Propriété, c'est le vol.*" In this answer is contained Proudhon's fundamental principle which is substantially the same as the theory of capital held by Marx and most of the later socialists.

In rejecting the principle of private property Proudhon violently denounces wealth and every social institution connected with it. He hated the rich, not as individuals, for he was altogether free from personal hate, but as a class, declar-



ing them to be "libidinous animals without virtue and without shame." He does not, however, accept communism which he describes as the "religion of misery." Communism is no better, he declares, than the present system. It would mean the same slavery and the same system of organized robbery as now. The community would be the sole proprietor, not only of goods, but of persons and wills as well. Instead of one master, as now, there would be many masters. Instead of the robbery of the weak by the strong, as now, there would be the robbery of the strong by the weak. Following the Hegelian dialectic Proudhon makes communism the thesis, property the antithesis, and the synthesis he finds in possession, which he appears to limit, however, to the instruments of labor used by labor. What he really condemns and rejects, then, is not property in general, but only property in the form of interest, profits and rent. This is not so radical a departure from the existing social order as appears at first sight. Proudhon also retains in his ideal society, as practically all communists do not, the principle of inheritance.

Nor is Proudhon a socialist any more than he is a communist. He has no more respect for the doctrines of state socialism than he has for those which uphold the present social order. He is an apostle of individualism, and condemns in violent terms the madness of appealing to the state, which he declares to be the "leprosy of the French mind." He also rejects certain fundamental things in the accepted socialist philosophy. Thus he maintains that under the existing economic organization of society value is not proportional to labor, as it of right ought to be, and will be, in his ideal society, and that the great social problem is to make it so. To this view Marx, the great prophet and lawgiver of modern socialism, is diametrically opposed, holding, not that value ought to be, but that it is and must be, under the present order of things, proportional to labor, and that on this necessary relation between the two rests the whole system of capitalist exploitation, the corner-stone of the Marxian economic philosophy.



Proudhon's principle of distribution is that of absolute equality. A day's labor is a day's labor for him. That is to say, one day's labor balances any other day's labor, so that the duration of labor becomes the just and proper measure of value. This is what Proudhon means by social justice, and from the ultimate consequences of its principle he does not shrink. But while he would not hesitate to give to a common mason the same remuneration as to a Phidias for the same amount of labor measured by time, he looks forward to a time in the development of his ideal society when the present inequality in the talents and capacities of men will, through the operation of an equality of condition, be reduced to an inappreciable minimum. Then men will labor equally, and their products measured by labor time will necessarily be equal in value. Absolute equality of character and constitution will follow from equality of condition.

With this absolute equality Proudhon combines in his ideal society absolute liberty. All control of man by man he holds to be oppression. To be sure, such control may be necessary for a time, but the inevitable effect of an equality of condition will be to make government unnecessary. Proudhon is, therefore, an anarchist. He was the first to use the word anarchy, not, however, in the revolutionary sense in which it is commonly used now, not in the sense of disorder and chaos, but to express the highest perfection of society which he finds in the union of order and anarchy.

These twin virtues of absolute equality and absolute liberty Proudhon proposes to attain gradually. He has no faith in ready-made schemes of social reform which he characterizes as the "most accursed lie that can be offered to mankind." He does not believe for a moment that his ideal society can be realized in any other way than through a long and laborious process of transformation. Instead of violently dispossessing the present owners of land, houses, mines, factories, etc., he would simply render capital incapable of earning interest, rent and profits. His favorite device for accomplishing this



was the establishment of a national bank with branches all over France and a system of mutual credit. One purpose of such a bank was to permit product to be exchanged against product, without the intervention of middlemen, by means of paper money representing labor time. Under such a system of exchange a commodity would command any other commodity which had cost the same labor, and which had consequently the same value, since value is measured by labor time. A second purpose of such a bank was to furnish laborers with gratuitous credit, so that they might provide themselves with the means of production without cost to themselves. The effect of this would be that interest, rent and profits would ultimately disappear, since no one would continue to pay rent for a house, or interest for capital, when he could have them for nothing. The laborer would receive the entire product and no commodity would cost more than it is worth. Hence there could be no profits. And with the disappearance of profits, rent and interest property in Proudhon's sense of the term would cease to exist, gradually, perhaps, but none the less surely.

It is to be noted that Proudhon aimed at economic rather than political reform in the belief that if economic arrangements were once reformed political reform would take care of itself through the ultimate disappearance of all government. But he did not always hold to this principle in practice. He took no part at first in the Revolution of 1848 on the ground that all governments were equally vicious, and that it was of no moment, therefore, which party triumphed. Later, however, he appears to have been drawn into the conflict, and at its close, largely because of the reputation which his writings had given him, he was elected to the Constituent Assembly. In this position he attempted in various ways to give practical effect to his dreams of social regeneration. He first proposed the scheme of exacting an impost of one third on all interest and rent. This was promptly rejected. Then he proposed the establishment, under the auspices of the state, of



his banking and credit scheme. This met a similar fate. Then he attempted to carry it out without the aid of the state. Popular subscriptions were called for, and despite the fact that only seventeen thousand of the five million francs needed were secured, the bank was started only to fail after a few weeks. The failure of all his efforts seems to have embittered Proudhon. His utterances, never moderate or diplomatic, increased in violence. The result was a three-year term of imprisonment. With his release from prison Proudhon returned to his principle that political reform was of little importance in comparison with economic reform. For this reason he had no quarrel with the government of the Second Empire, under which he lived in comparative quiet until the publication of his work, *De la Justice dans la Revolution et dans L'Eglise* (1858), in which he attacked the church and other existing institutions with his customary fury and virulence. To escape a second term of imprisonment he fled the country. On his return he gave up political agitation and lived the quiet life of the middle class to his death.

While Proudhon was a keen critic of contemporary schemes of social regeneration, and quick to see as he was merciless to assail their weaknesses, his own was as impractical as it was inconsistent. Not only are absolute equality and absolute liberty not one and the same thing at bottom, as he vehemently and repeatedly asserts, but they are mutually exclusive. For if men are absolutely equal they can not be free, and if they are absolutely free they can not be equal; and under anarchy they can be neither free nor equal. Proudhon's fundamental error is that he attempted to do what no one before him had attempted to do, and what no one will ever succeed in doing, viz., to combine absolute individualism and perfect justice in the production and distribution of wealth.

Proudhon was an apostle of destruction rather than of construction. But his gospel of destruction had at least one or two most salutary effects. It compelled, through its keen and unsparing criticism of contemporary social schemes and doc-



trines, socialists and political economists to revise their theories and base them on a more careful observation of facts. The consequence was that social theory became less speculative and more scientific, less visionary and more practical, and to Proudhon even more than to Blanc is due the reaction from utopianism which set in about the middle of the nineteenth century not only in France but elsewhere. Then again Proudhon exercised on contemporary social thought a salutary moral influence. He was strictly upright in his conduct, his private life being severely simple and even puritanic. Not only did he attack the prevailing French socialism because of its immorality, but he strongly believed in the absolute truth of certain moral ideas which he labored to introduce into political economy.

Proudhon has practically no following to-day, even among those who profess the doctrines of anarchism. For a time his economic and especially his mutual banking ideas found supporters and even practical application in the United States. In Germany his principle of anarchy acquired a temporary vogue among such left-wing Hegelians as Moses Hess and Karl Grün. But in his own France neither his economic nor his political views succeeded in attracting a following, partly for the reason that the philosophy of anarchism is not indigenous to the French mind, and partly because public attention was engrossed by the schemes of Fourier, St. Simon and Blanc.

Robert Owen (1771–1858) is more important for the history of social reform as a practical philanthropist and social experimenter than as a contributor to its philosophy. In the former capacity he has been considered in an earlier article. It remains only to examine his social theories, which, notwithstanding their utopian character, have led many to regard him as the father of English socialism.

After an extraordinarily successful career as a cotton manufacturer and practical philanthropist, first at Manchester, England, and later at New Lanark, Scotland, in the course of



which he succeeded in effecting a remarkable moral and industrial transformation of the latter, Owen began to contemplate larger schemes of social improvement. The first step in this direction was the publication of a series of four essays under the title *A New View of Society; or Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character*. In these essays he explained the principles on which his system of educational philanthropy at New Lanark was based. That man's character is made, not by him, but for him; that it has been formed by circumstances over which he has no control; and that he is not, therefore, a proper subject either of praise or of blame: these are the fundamental principles of his philosophy to which his social experiments had led him. And from these principles he reached the practical conclusion, which is the corner-stone of his system, that in order to a right formation of man's character it is necessary only to place him under a proper environment, physical, moral and social. In his lack of familiarity with the history of philosophy he regarded these principles as his own discovery. But they belong to a very old system of philosophy, and it is only in his benevolent application of them that Owen can lay claim to any originality. Owen was led to contemplate larger schemes of social improvement, first, by his remarkable success at New Lanark which attracted the attention of Europe and made the place the mecca of social reformers, statesmen, and even royalty itself, and secondly, by the universal misery and stagnation in industry which followed the close of the Napoleonic wars. The latter led Owen to a deeper study of social problems and conditions than he had yet permitted himself. The results of this study he embodied in a report to the "Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Law" in 1817. In this report, after considering the special causes, Owen concluded that the permanent cause of England's distress was to be found in the competition of human labor with machinery, and that the only adequate remedy was the united action of men and the subordination of machinery.



To this end Owen proposed in the same report a scheme of social organization, which, while designed to meet England's conditions, was later expanded by him and set up as the best form of organization for society in general. The scheme contemplated the organization of communities of from three hundred to two thousand persons to be settled on areas of land varying from six hundred to eighteen hundred acres. These communities were to be mainly agricultural although manufacturing was not to be neglected. Diversification of industry was to be carried far enough to render each community independent of every other, to combine the advantages of urban and rural life, and to break the monotony inseparable from a single occupation. The latest improvements in industrial technique, and the best educational devices and facilities, were to be utilized to make possible the highest development of unselfish intelligence. Each family was to have its own private apartments. These apartments were to be arranged in the form of a hollow square with common kitchens, dining rooms, schools and places of worship in the center. Each family, too, was to have the exclusive care of its children to the age of three, after which they were to be cared for by the community, although parents were to have access to their children at meals and other proper times. All property, labor and the fruits of labor were to be in common. As these communities increased in number they were to be grouped federatively in circles of tens, hundreds and thousands until the whole world should be embraced in one vast industrial republic.

It will be noted that Owen's scheme, while bearing a striking superficial resemblance to that of Fourier, differs from it fundamentally in that it proposes the rule of equality in distribution and the complete abolition of private property. Owen was a thoroughgoing communist of the authoritarian type, holding that for a long time at least social regeneration must be directed by a class of benevolent despots, whereas Fourier's scheme left so much to individual taste and inclination as to resemble in this respect the scheme of Proud-



hon. Owen differs again from both Fourier and St. Simon in the fact that he was mainly concerned with industrial organization, caring nothing for political reform, and his views reflect at every step the influence of the Industrial Revolution. Fourier and St. Simon on the other hand were most influenced by the French Revolution and aimed at political rather than industrial reform.

The ideas contained in the *New View of Society* and the report of 1817 were elaborated by Owen in two later reports, the one drawn up in 1820, and the other in 1823. In both reports the division of labor is condemned and the integration of industry advocated. In the one of 1820 Owen announces in all seriousness that he has discovered a new science, "the science of the influence of circumstances which is the most important of all the sciences." Other expositions of his views are *The Book of the New Moral World*, and *Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race*.

Despite the great success of his philanthropic activities, Owen's social theories had little permanent influence. One reason for this is to be found in his religious views. At an early age he had lost all faith in the prevailing forms of religion and had thought out a creed for himself. This did not become generally known, however, until the occasion of a large public meeting in London when he went out of his way to declare his hostility to all the accepted forms of religion. From that time on his social theories were associated in the popular mind with infidelity and very generally discredited.

Owen's lax views on marriage served still further to discredit his social theories. While it is a fact that most schemes of communism discredit the marriage relation, there is no necessary connection between a community of property and a community of wives. The error of postulating such a connection is doubtless owing to the notion which regards the wife as part of the goods and chattels of her husband. If communists would only regard marriage as a contract there is no reason why it should not remain in force during the life of the contracting parties regardless of the mode of holding property.



A third circumstance to discredit Owen's theories was the failure of the communities which were established, either by him or in accordance with his ideas. The first was established near Glasgow, Scotland, in 1825, and a second at New Harmony, Indiana, the following year. Both failed after two or three years. A third, established in Ireland in 1831, lasted three and a half years. A fourth in Hampshire, England, 1839, was a flat failure. In the failure of these communities Owen lost reputation as well as fortune.

Owen has frequently been called the father of English socialism, and the originator of the coöperative movement which swept over England and Scotland soon after the middle of the nineteenth century. Strictly speaking he was neither. So far as he exercised an influence on either it was altogether negative in character. He was a communist, not a socialist, and his influence on socialism is to be found in the fact that he demonstrated by actual experiment the impracticability of communism, which undoubtedly prepared the English people for the less radical socialist movement of 1848. Similarly in the field of coöperation his failures by narrowing the range of experiment prepared the way for the later and more special forms of coöperation.

Despite his exceptional business abilities and practical attainments, Owen was a visionary. He was in fact two men in one, combining the hard-headed man of affairs and the social dreamer. He did not understand the laws of social evolution, and thought he could break the chain of historic continuity with impunity and create off-hand a new social order. He failed to see that for the mass of men the transition from an old to a new social order must be slow and painful. Hence his scheme was utterly impracticable. By the middle of the nineteenth century the only permanent result of his propaganda, so zealously prosecuted for years through popular meetings, periodicals, tracts and treatises, was the coöperative movement, and that he influenced only indirectly. The permanent value of his influence lies along more practical lines.



He initiated many permanent labor reforms. He advocated a laboring day of ten and a half hours, the prohibition of child labor under the age of ten, and half time and an educational test for children between ten and twelve. And most important of all he succeeded in demonstrating what is yet only imperfectly understood, that a factory can be so managed as to benefit both the employer and the employed.

Wilhelm Weitling (1808–1871) has been called the father of German communism. Having learned the trade of tailor he spent ten years in wandering over Germany to escape military service, which he succeeded in accomplishing with the aid of forged passports. Then he went to Paris where he associated himself with the numerous revolutionary spirits who had fled from German absolutism, and who had made the French capital the chief center of their propaganda. At Paris, too, he became imbued with the doctrines of St. Simon, Fourier, Cabet and Owen. He was converted to communism, as he says, by his study of the New Testament. But his communism assumed definite form only after he reached Paris, for his writings from the beginning clearly reflect the influence of these utopists. From Paris Weitling went to Switzerland where he carried on for several years, first in the French and later in the German cantons, a vigorous propaganda in behalf of communism. In this he was interrupted by a sentence of imprisonment followed by expulsion from the country. In 1844, after he had been driven from Germany, and after a brief residence in England, he came to America, settling in New York where he attempted with indifferent success to effect a general organization of the laboring classes. He also established a communist colony in Wisconsin—Communism—which failed after a brief existence.

The main features of Weitling's scheme are contained in a brief treatise, which was published in 1838 under the title, *Die Welt wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte*, and in which the New Testament is interpreted in terms of social revolution in support of the scheme. A more pretentious work, *Garantien*



*der Harmonie und Freiheit* (1842), is mainly an elaboration of the first. In a third work, *Das Evangelium eines armen Sünders* (1845), communism is represented as a logical deduction from the teachings of Jesus.

The abolition of private property and absolute equality in distribution are cardinal features of Weitling's scheme. He is willing to concede that as long as there was an abundance of unoccupied land the institution of private property was not inequitable, since it deprived no one of the prospect of becoming a landowner. But as soon as land became scarce relatively to the demand for it the many were forever robbed of that prospect. This is not only a gross injustice, says Weitling, but also the source of nearly all the misery among the poor. And the only adequate remedy is the abolition of private property.

All industry is to be carried on by groups of families into which the entire race is to be divided. Each group is governed by an elective head whose main duty it is to divide all the goods produced by the group among the members. Equality is the general rule governing the division. But it is subject to certain limitations. All who have labored a prescribed number of hours receive equal shares. Those who fail to reach this prescribed amount of labor are remunerated proportionately. On the other hand, those who exceed it are given an additional amount of goods in the form of luxuries, subject, however, to the condition that these luxuries be consumed within a given time, the purpose of the condition being to prevent the accumulation and inheritance of wealth, and thereby oppose an effectual barrier to the reappearance of economic inequality.

This is a highly chimerical utopia. Like that of Owen it is of the authoritarian type although its benevolent despotism is materially modified by the principle of election. While impracticable and inconsistent it reflects throughout the author's lack of education and his narrow mental range. He knows nothing of the principle of historic continuity. That the race has gone through a long and laborious process of de-



velopment in the past is beyond his comprehension. That it will pass through a similar development in the future is even more incomprehensible. And so he constructs his ideal society without thought of the past and without thought of the future. Society is something that can be shaped and moulded at will and for all time.

Unlike the great body of communists Weitling advocates violence as a means of inaugurating the new order of things. There are only two possible ways, he declares, in which communism can be established. The one is by means of the good will and active coöperation of the ruling class. All other communists of the first half of the nineteenth century, according to Weitling, had looked to the ruling class to give practical effect to their dreams, but they had looked in vain. Communism will never come that way. There remains then only the method of violence. In his last work, however, Weitling gives violence a less prominent place, and appears to place greater dependence than formerly upon religion to effect the desired revolution.

Weitling's work has had little apparent influence. Whatever he attempted seemed destined to failure from the first. His doctrines were lost in the rising tide of socialism. But while he was far from being a socialist, and gradually became alienated from the men who led the new movement, it was he who prepared the soil, and sowed the seed, which fruited in the German social democratic movement.

LANCASTER, PA.



## IX.

### EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

#### OUR EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

The celebration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Franklin College at the late commencement of Franklin and Marshall College was an event of much more than ordinary interest and possessed more than local significance. The notable addresses made in the course of the week are of historic value in that they bring vividly before the mind of the present generation the springs of influence which formed and shaped our institutions of higher learning, the character and labors of those who directed these early educational efforts, and the successive steps by which the advance was made from these enthusiastic but comparatively crude beginnings to the condition of conscious power and influence which these institutions now enjoy. Both Franklin College and Marshall College were fortunate in having for their founders and early teachers great men, great in point of culture and scholarship, and great as teachers and leaders. And, what is perhaps of even more account, these men cherished ideals of education which were fitted to give tone and character to our educational development, and proved to be the seeds of normative forces which bear rich fruit in the present day and generation. The progress of our institutions as regards numbers, equipment, and endowment is easily traced, and it is fitting that, at such a time, it should receive careful attention. But it is also fitting that due attention should be given to the inner aspect of the work which these institutions have in hand, to see what the present age demands, and to bring the ideals of the past into right relation with the needs



of the future. The life is more than meat, the body more than raiment, the spirit more than the letter. The external aspect of an educational institution is certainly important. Pretentious claims of excellence, in this practical age, will not cover or hide defective equipment or slipshod teaching. But the inner life and spirit, the ideals held before the mind, the inspiration and power furnished for right living, these are the things of supreme importance.

It has been said that the men who founded Franklin College were scientists, and those who founded Marshall College were philosophers. From this statement the inference might be drawn that the prevailing spirit of Franklin College was scientific and that of Marshall philosophic. The statement, however, is too sweeping, and the inference would give us a one-sided view not justified by the history of either institution. Muhlenberg, the botanist, and Melsheimer, the entomologist, no doubt were preëminent in their respective departments; but they were also men of broad culture and scholarship, whose educational ideals were by no means contracted or one-sided. Rauch and Nevin were philosophers and theologians, but they were men of wide learning, and their scheme of education included not only the humanities but also mathematics and natural science. In both cases stress was laid on well-rounded and harmonious development, looking to the making of the man rather than to the immediate training for a profession. At most, therefore, the attainments and characteristics of these men were prophecies of what should be the nature of the educational ideal of the future rather than forces consciously at work in shaping the policy of either institution. The end aimed at was expressed more particularly by the word culture. Unfortunately this word may be used in more than one sense, and in the minds of some it came to mean the ornamental rather than the useful, the theoretical rather than the practical. In course of time the educational watchword in the mouth of many became *culture for culture's sake*, and in some cases it came to be applied in such a way that the



practical or useful was undervalued or disregarded. This was especially true after the so-called New Education began to clamor for immediate practical results of school training, and to estimate the value of an education in dollars and cents, or according to the earning capacity which it produced in an individual.

It is easy to see that in the issue thus raised two false ideals, false because one-sided, may be made to confront each other. The striving after the immediately useful may leave man's deeper nature untouched, leading to superficiality, coldness, secularization, and the mad rush for wealth and power. The pursuit of culture, so-called, may leave the best strength and skill of a man undeveloped, and make him helpless and useless in the complex life of the present day. The things that are of paramount importance do not always yield immediate, tangible results; and, certainly, a truth is not of inferior value, because it can be practically applied. A great truth discovered or a system worked out for which the author thanks God *dass es gar nicht anwendbar ist*" may be a piece of stupendous folly. To ignore the practical, on the one hand, is just as reprehensible as to change the curriculum of our high schools, as has been proposed in the year of grace 1912, because, forsooth, it includes studies needed in the preparation for college rather than those needed in business or trade to make a living. Education must fit for complete living; and that means the making of the individual so that he can use all his powers, and that he possesses the knowledge and the skill necessary to meet all the emergencies that are likely to arise in the environment in which the course of his life must run. Such living must include the deeper things of mind, the things that pertain to the social and religious nature of man, as well as the industrial and commercial interests to which men are so largely given; and while some of the factors are ever the same and demand the same constant attention, others vary from age to age and make new demands upon our processes of education that cannot be ignored.



It is both interesting and instructive to turn to the great writers who, as leaders in philosophy, have given tone and direction to modern thought in the field of education. Locke, for instance, in his famous essay on Education, after stating that a sound mind in a sound body fully describes a happy state in this world, describes his educational ideal as follows: "That which every gentleman (that takes any care of his education) desires for his son, besides the estate he leaves him, is contained, I suppose, in these four things, *virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning.*" He sets these down in the order given, because he considers this the order of their importance, virtue being the first and most necessary, and learning the least part. Kant says education means *nurture, discipline, instruction and culture.* Herbert Spencer, who defines education as *preparation for complete living,* groups human activities under five different heads, following the order of what he conceives to be their real value. (1) Those that directly minister to self-preservation. (2) Those which, by securing the necessities of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation. (3) Those which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring. (4) Those which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations. (5) Those which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of tastes and feelings. The first two regard education from the standpoint of the developed man and show in detail what elements must be included in the whole process without determining, necessarily, the order to be pursued. The last takes the genetic point of view, and this, in the nature of the case, includes in the main the order to be followed. Stress must be laid upon that which is relatively most important, and that which has less value must take a subordinate place. . Accordingly natural science must take the precedence in education, sociology and ethics come next, and as the gratification of tastes and feelings belongs to the leisure part of life, so also should it occupy the leisure part of education. "Accomplishments, the fine arts, *belles-lettres*, and all those things which, as we say,



constitute the efflorescence of civilization, should be wholly subordinate to that knowledge and discipline in which civilization rests." This view as set forth by Spencer has been widely adopted, and Spencer is generally regarded by the advocates of the so-called practical education, not only as the champion of science, but also as a great educational reformer. It may be said, however, at once, by way of criticism, that in the scheme of "complete living" as thus presented, that which makes life worth living at all is thrust into the background. We are told forsooth that the preservation of life must come first before any of the goods of life can be realized. That, of course, is self-evident. But it is also self-evident that in proportion as the value of life and its significance are better understood, the maintenance of it *at its best* will be a matter of greater concern; and it follows necessarily that Spencer's five forms of activity reënforce each other, and need to be harmoniously and simultaneously developed. It is the contents of life that are really valuable; we all know that there are goods for which men readily sacrifice their lives, and we honor them for it. Purity, manhood, honor, and such like, are prized above life, not simply because they are necessary in our social and political relations, but preëminently because they are traits of character of intrinsic excellence without which human life would be barren of flower and fruit in this life and in the life to come. Complete living must include these higher goods, individual and social, present and future, secular and religious.

Horne, in his *Psychological Principles of Education*, enumerates the different educational ideals in the following order: Culture, Efficiency, Discipline, Knowledge, Development, Character, Citizenship. Culture was the ideal of Greece; efficiency, of Rome; discipline, of the Middle Ages; knowledge, of Bacon, Locke and Comenius; development, of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel; character, of Kant, Herbart, Fichte and Hegel; and citizenship, of Horace Mann. Of course this can only mean that in the historical development of edu-



cational theory, the emphasis shifted from one factor to another, and no one of these so-called ideals can be considered all-inclusive. As a matter of fact a thorough education must include all of them, and the educative process must be such that it will yield them in their necessary combination for all the exigencies and emergencies of life. A man is not educated unless he is fitted for his environment so that he can adapt himself easily to his position and discharge with freedom and efficiency the duties which devolve upon him. He comes to this estate by *nurture* and *training*, and these again require the two-fold process of *developing* and *implanting*. A child is born not with knowledge, but with the power to know; not with ability to think, but with the possibility of learning to think; not with the gift of morality, but with a mind that responds to moral ideas and is capable of being trained in virtue; not with a nature already religious, but with the soul open to the implanting of religious truth and practice. The educator must draw upon the native powers and bring them into action for their growth and development; but he must also furnish the materials of knowledge and implant the principles of morality and religion. When his work is done he has developed a man, he has guided the great problem of self-realization, he has fitted his pupil to take his place as an individual in human society to carry forward the advancement of the race on earth towards the goal of a perfect society in heaven.

From a somewhat different point of view it may be said that the educational ideal of the present day must include four things: Efficiency, culture, character and inspiration; and it may also be said with equal emphasis that any educational institution which does not furnish these is, so far forth, defective. The present age, especially, lays stress on efficiency; and the demand made of our colleges and universities to turn out men who can do things is altogether just and right. There is room in human society for the cripple and the infirm. They challenge human sympathy and develop the ministra-



tions of love and affection without which this world would be dreary and cold. But society has no use for the weakling, the nice, dainty, pampered individual who is unwilling, or the incompetent who is unable to lay hold of the interests of life, and by sturdy, honest toil, to minister to human well-being. The college curriculum and college training, therefore, must be so arranged that efficiency will be the result of a college course if that course is properly taken. While the college cannot always be held responsible for the outcome, it can be held responsible for two things: (1) It must refuse to admit to its classes any student who is not qualified to do the work required of him. (2) It must refuse to retain or to graduate a student who fails to meet the requirements of the course. To fail in the first is to do an act of injustice to the student himself and to his classmates. To fail in the second is to wrong the student and society.

Efficiency necessarily implies both knowledge and discipline, and the attainment of these carries with it the idea of development. Knowledge is acquired by the mastery of the subject in hand by the mind's own activity. Discipline is the result of successful activity. As muscle is strengthened not by a dead strain but by lifting a weight or overcoming resistance, so the mind becomes efficient by use and exercise in doing the work required of it. To suppose that a student will get some good anyhow by attending recitations, or "going through" college even if he cannot do the work of his class is educational heresy. The mind cannot passively absorb knowledge, or culture, or virtue, as a sponge absorbs water; and what is worse, by dawdling it deteriorates, so that intellectual and moral flabbiness necessarily results. Educational institutions ought not to offer gold bricks either to their pupils or to the public. But ought not the unfortunate boy who is not bright also have educational advantages? Yes, certainly, all he can get; but in a school or in a class for which he is qualified, and where the teacher can get responsive activity from his mind. And if he is not qualified for college, then let him go to work on the farm,



in the work-shop, or behind the counter where honest, useful toil will surely bring its reward.

Culture means something broader than efficiency. It means the going out of the mind in human fellowship. It implies a process of sharing with others the best that men have said and done in all ages, a receiving and a giving in the wide field of human experience, in art and science and social relations, where the pressure of the hard things of life is removed, and the mind, large and free, soars aloft on eagles' wings to the enjoyment of the finer things of life. This needs to be reënforced by character, the steadfastness of moral purpose, the recognition and practice of all that constitutes honor, manly worth, and virtue; and this again is possible only under the benign influence of religion or better of Christianity, the first and the last, because the constant force that must give, by shaping the forming character, to education its true value. And such education naturally carries with it the force of inspiration. It awakens in the mind the sense of conscious power and fills it with enthusiasm to lay hold of the problems which life presents. The properly educated man cannot be passive; he receives the goods of life by giving—giving the best he has or can render, with hope and courage and confidence, believing that God through him is working to bless mankind and bring in the fulness of His Kingdom.

J. S. S.

LANCASTER, PA.



## X.

### NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

**WAS CHRIST DIVINE?** By William W. Kinsley. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 144 pages. Price \$1.00 net.

The publication of this interesting and instructive volume, the third of a series, completes the author's studies in a wide and supremely important field of theological inquiry. The two previous volumes, the first on *Man's Tomorrow*, the second on *Does Prayer Avail?*, have received favorable notice in earlier issues of this journal. In the present one, questions connected with the central problem of Christianity are given the earnest and reverent consideration they deserve, and the conclusions reached, whilst not expressed in the conventional phraseology of the schools, are religiously sound and eminently satisfactory.

Mr. Kinsley appears to be a self-taught searcher after the truth, who frankly and fearlessly owns his personal findings without pausing to ask whether or not they are in harmony with this or that creedal formulary. He recognizes that "a multitude of most interesting and illuminating facts, facts full of suggestion and inspiration, have been discovered through the researches of the physical sciences and the science of psychology, bearing directly upon this most perplexing of the world's problems, the true nature of the personality of Christ." He recognizes, moreover, that "with each inflooding of new light there arises a new necessity for a reinvestigation of the mystery" which Christ's personality involves, if a solution of it that will stand the test of modern thought is to be accomplished.

The facts recognized are handled by our author with competent insight and ability, and their testimony to the divinity of Christ is most forcefully and convincingly expounded. Probably Mr. Kinsley is a self-taught layman, but his scientific and theological attainments are of such a high and commanding order that all three of his books in the series to which this one belongs abundantly merit the attentive study of ministers of the Gospel and of teachers of theology.

A. S. WEBER.

**A RACE'S REDEMPTION.** By John Leard Dawson. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 428 pages. Price \$1.50 net.

As may be inferred from the significantly worded title of this learned theological treatise, the work of Christ is here studied from the viewpoint of its racial rather than its merely individual



bearings. This fact, combined with the writer's thorough acquaintance with Scripture and theological science and his clear and cogent reasoning, lends to his work peculiar attractiveness and power. According to Dr. Dawson's view, Jesus of Nazareth, as Immanuel, was the personal revelation of God's continuous presence with the human race for its redemption and spirit-realization. Because God is love, he could not but create, and because one of the constituents of love is righteousness, he could not but redeem. And he is an ever-present continuous Creator, as well as an ever-present and continuous Redeemer. This conception of God, which Dr. Dawson finds throughout the New Testament writings, lies at the basis of all the discussions of this volume, the several chapters of which contain virtually a new Life of Christ and a new Christology. The author's reverence for the New Testament is as sincere as it is profound, but at the same time his interpretations of particular passages and doctrines, as well as of current religious aspects, are always independent. A few sentences may be quoted in illustration of this observation. "It is certainly time we parted forever with the ambition to pose as the wise correctors of Christ and his apostles." "That loss of the sense of sin, over which many are mourning to-day, is rather a fact for rejoicing. In place of an abidingly distressing sense of sin in Christendom, there is fast waking up the genuine Christian prophet's passion for righteousness, individual and social. So men are all the time becoming more practically, and, therefore, more truly, the followers of Christ." What the New Testament seems to set forth, is, in the author's opinion, an evolution of redemption, which, whilst not to be regarded as Universalism or Restorationism, must at length lay its completely delivering and exalting hand upon every member of the race existing upon the earth at that future time towards which with increasing speed humanity is moving. The book is not always "easy reading" but it richly rewards those who follow what it so vigorously discusses.

A. S. WEBER.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. By William M. Balch. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 108 pages. Price \$1.00 net.

For several years the author of this unpretentious and inexpensive book has been the secretary of the "Methodist Federation for Social Service." His experience while filling that office, his constant personal contact meanwhile with labor organizations, have given him unusual qualification for knowing every important phase and difficulty of the so-called labor problem. Equipped with firsthand knowledge of his subject, Mr. Balch has been enabled to write authoritatively, therefore, not only for social experts and Christian preachers, but as well for laboring men and public-spirited citizens generally, of average thoughtfulness and intelligence.



At the same time Mr. Balch brings to his task a literary equipment of the first order. His book has the rare quality of being at once concise and comprehensive. It discusses adequately the entire field of thought proposed, and succeeds in doing it with an economy and suggestiveness of language, a lucidity and directness of style and statement, that invite and hold the attention of even busiest readers from start to finish.

If there is in the English language another book containing so clear and satisfactory an exposition of the principles and purposes of the labor movement, and indicating so convincingly its trend and significance in the light of Christianity, one should be pleased to have one's attention called to it. If there is another book on the same general subject carrying larger information and stronger appeal,—or that should do so at least,—to the openminded leaders in the churches and in labor organizations, than do the two illuminating and rewarding chapters on "What church-men should know about labor unions," and "What wage-earners should know about the Church," that book has not fallen under the eye of the present writer. The two chapters referred to might be profitably read from the pulpits of many of our city churches, or, if not there, before men's clubs at their public meetings. Their statements of facts and their suggestions are worth the price of the book many times over. It is a real pleasure to commend this excellent work of Mr. Balch to both lay and clerical readers of *THE REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW*.

A. S. WEBER.

**EDWARD IRVING—MAN, PREACHER, PROPHET.** By Jean Christie Root. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 150 pages. Price \$1.50 net.

This book contains a brief biographic sketch of an interesting character who figured prominently in Glasgow and London churches in the first half of the nineteenth century,—in Glasgow as the assistant of the renowned Dr. Chalmers, in London afterwards as one of the most brilliant and popular of metropolitan preachers. Mrs. Oliphant's well-known *Life of Irving*, covering more than six hundred octavo pages, is too lengthy to be undertaken by the general reader of to-day. The present book has gathered the salient facts and incidents of Irving's character and career into a much narrower compass, and its presentation of those facts and incidents is very happily made by an appreciative and sympathetic admirer of Irving and of his services to the cause of liberty in the Church and the recovery of a biblical Christianity.

The author places Irving upon the honorable list of those who in the last hundred years "followed the gleam" of truth and "blazed" the path toward spiritual freedom, only like their Master to be crowned with thorns as reward for their sacrifices. Not, however, we are told, like Wesley, Maurice, Newman, Bushnell



and Martineau," who lived to see the obloquy cast upon their early labors changed to praise," was Irving allowed to see "the fruits of his Christian sincerity, brotherhood and absolute loyalty to all the truth he saw." In the opinion of our author, Irving did as much as, if not more than, any of his contemporaries save Wesley, "to deepen and broaden Christian thinking," and, for his reward, was cast out of his own great church because he preferred the Bible as his teacher to the elaborate creed of his church, and died broken-hearted in his prime.

The nobleness of Irving as a man in his private, domestic and pastoral relations, his eloquence and power as a preacher of the Gospel, and the prophet-like vision with which his genius anticipated by nearly a century many of doctrinal positions and practical religious efforts to which present-day Christianity has advanced and in which it now glories,—all this is vividly set forth in these pages. The entire book, both from a literary and biographical point of view, is a piece of work exceedingly well done. It should serve to assist in rescuing Irving's name from much of the misunderstanding that still lingers in many minds around it, and it may lead such to apply to Irving, as the author does, the beatitude: "Blessed are you when men shall revile you and cast out your name as evil for my sake."

A. S. WEBER.

THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN NATURE. By James F. Boydstun. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Flexible Cloth. 286 pages. Price \$2.00 net.

The author's aim in preparing this beautifully gotten-out little book is definitely set forth in several pithy introductory paragraphs, the contents of which may be given in a brief summary. It aims to assist the reader, whose soul is rich in unknown human possibilities, to discover himself to himself, and to discover others; to place within easy reach of everyone all psychology that has any practical value for those who deal with people—especially ministers, students, lawyers, teachers, physicians, parents, lovers; to combine, balance, unify gleanings from psychology, philosophy, literature, religion, common-sense in such a way as to throw clear light upon the greatest of all problems—how to make one's life a source of true benefit to others and of real satisfaction to itself; to help each life to have all the certainty of science,—certainty as to education, life-work, marriage, influence upon others, and the final results of life as a whole. This program is surely sufficiently ambitious both in scope and in importance to arrest attention. Those who believe in the possibility of realizing for themselves such greatly-to-be-desired ends under the inspiration of a book on *The Science of Human Nature* may do well to master the contents of this treatise. But whether or not it can



justify its great promises must be left to be ascertained by each individual reader of it for himself.

A. S. WEBER.

**ENDEAVORS AFTER THE SPIRIT OF RELIGION.** By Arthur G. Beach. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 124 pages. Price \$1.00 net.

Religion to the writer of the short essays comprising the contents of this volume is a reality of supreme beauty, worth and importance to every man. Nothing in life should wield such a commanding influence upon human endeavor as the spirit of personal religion. In his studies of the subject, Mr. Beach has surveyed an extensive field of religious thought and experience, and the results of those studies are here attractively and engagingly presented to the reading public. His arguments and suggestions will find hearty response in many minds and hearts, and the questions he so helpfully answers will be sincerely welcomed by many who in these days are perplexed by the discordant voices heard on every side.

A. S. WEBER.

**MOUNTAINS OF THE BIBLE.** By J. J. Summerbell. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 86 pages. Price \$1.00 net.

Many of the interesting and helpful spiritual experiences of Bible characters were met with by them on the mountains. These incidents are seized by our author in their historical order, from Ararat and Horeb to Olivet and Calvary, and important Christian lessons gathered from the events recorded to have taken place on them. The book can be profitably read by children in the home and by scholars in our Sunday schools. To preachers who find difficulty in preparing to speak to children, Mr. Summerbell's skillfulness in illustration and application will prove suggestive and profitable.

A. S. WEBER.

**PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY AND EARLY CRITICISM.** By A. S. Garretson. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 300 pages. Price \$1.50 net.

The sub-title of this book tells us that it is "A Work of Negation." It gathers within its covers numerous extracts from the writings of those who in the early ages of Christianity assailed some of the fundamental doctrines of the Church, and, by introducing parallels from pagan authors of the first four centuries of our era, attempts to undermine the validity of the claims of supernaturalism in institutional Christianity. To most thoughtful men of today, such an attempt to revive the skepticism and unbelief of the distant past will seem an ungracious and uncalled-for undertaking. Contemporary thought raises a sufficient number of tremendously difficult religious problems, most men know,



to make the re-presentation of ancient heresies, with a purpose such as the book essays, an unwelcome enterprise and one of questionable propriety. For the student of the history of doctrinal development, the theories and criticisms here brought together may prove useful for handy reference, but for the ordinary reader of religious literature, one suspects, Mr. Garretson's labors will have no attraction.

A. S. WEBER.

THE MASTER OF EVOLUTION. By George H. MacNish. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 135 pages. Price \$1.00 net.

The principles and laws of evolution are applied by the author of this volume to the study of heredity and variation in the realms of creed and religion. Competent knowledge of physical science, human psychology and religious history; penetrating and discriminating power in pressing to the heart of controverted questions; remarkable literary skill for clearly stating and vigorously enforcing conclusions reached,—these characteristics unite in giving charm and distinction to Dr. MacNish's most interesting, important and illuminating discussions in these pages.

Our author believes that evolution has abundantly justified its contentions by making possible the construction of a story, majestic as the heavens above us, full of unity and power, somewhat of which we can see, and of which we are a small, but real, part. He believes, moreover, that evolution has made possible a religious creed which will have the advantage of possessing universal application, and that this creed will be found in the last analysis to center in "the Babe, born in Bethlehem of Judea," just at the time when the spirit of antagonism between various local or national religious conceptions was most acute and the demand for a reasonable readjustment most pronounced.

According to Dr. MacNish, the climax of evolution was reached in Jesus, called the Christ. From Him are issuing the mysterious currents of spiritual and ethical influence which have created modern civilization, and from Him must come the harmonizing forces, which, like some overpowering convulsion of nature, are still needed to bring about the recognition of the truth of religion in its world-wide and all-embracing significance. In the evolutionary field of force, hereditary essentials will be divinely conserved, but large room will be left for vital variations to arise and grow. In this field the Roman Catholic Church, with all its grand proportions and traditional claims to perfection, is by no means universal in either authority or activity. It has not only neglected to nourish, but has bitterly persecuted the great force of variation in which resides so large a part of universal truth,—a part to which from its very beginning and along its course ever since, Protestantism, under the leadership of keenest



intellects and most potent moral and religious characters, has been making most important contributions, revitalizing Christian society and delivering it from that decay which increasingly threatened it during the Middle Ages.

The Reformation and the Church of the Reformation represent the mightiest of vital evolutionary impulses, namely, the God whom we worship, the God who is the Supreme Master of Evolution. To those of our readers in whose minds there may still linger doubt as to the truth and value of theistic evolution, this volume should afford rewarding light and guidance. It is cordially commended to the attention of our readers.

A. S. WEBER, D.D.

ORGAN AND FUNCTION. By B. D. Hahn. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 198 pages. Price \$1.00 net.

The sub-title to this book tells us that its eleven chapters constitute "a study of Evolution." The outcome of this study is that the theory is an unproved assumption maintained in the presence of many contradictions. The indifference of evolutionists to what is the relation of cause and effect, of organ and function, according to Mr. Hahn vitiates their theory and precludes the possibility of recommending its rational acceptance. The author's sarcastic thrusts are often too sharp to be effective, and his arguments generally too brilliant to be persuasive. His contention is not that there may not be genetic connection between species, but it denies that the nature, extent and relevancy of that connection with reference to a grand evolutionary process has been made out. It maintains that the main arguments of the hypothesis have not been confirmed by rigorous analysis or experiment or discovery. He points out with warmth and self-assurance his discovered enigmas and contradictions in the evolutionary theory, blissfully unconscious of the fallacies which underlie his own statements and reasonings. Those who, like him, are prejudiced students of the progress science has made under the leadership of Darwin and his followers, may find a good deal in these pages that is after their own heart. But others will lay the book aside as one more vain endeavor to arrest the effect of light by shutting the eye to its revelations. The author's ability as a writer would serve the cause of truth better were his efforts directed to other than scientific subjects.

A. S. WEBER, D.D.

ROSES FROM MY GARDEN. By Gertrude Capen Whitney. Boston, Mass., Sherman, French & Co. Cloth. 92 pages. Price \$1.35 net.

What a suitable frame is to a beautiful picture, that the book-makers' art has contributed in the way of letter-press and binding to the delightful poetic creations comprised in this volume. Among the output of the season's publications, one ventures noth-



ing in saying, nothing more attractive than this book, as regards both form and contents, is likely to appear. Mrs. Whitney is richly gifted with poetic genius, and writes with the simplicity and winsomeness that are born of true inspiration. Nothing more appropriate and enjoyable as a gift-book for younger and older readers of poetry could be suggested.

A. S. WEBER, D.D.



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# PROSPECTUS

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The REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW is the lineal successor of the REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW, as that was of the MERCERSBURG REVIEW. And, true to its antecedents, it will continue to be an organ for Christological, historical and positive theology, as this has come to be generally understood in the Reformed Church in the United States. Taking its position in the confessional system of the Heidelberg Catechism, it will endeavor to be true to the historical genius of the Reformed Church; but believing in the principle of historical development, it will not shut itself up to the horizon of any particular place or time in theology, but will have an open vision and a cordial welcome for all truth, new as well as old, from whatever quarter it may come.

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But while the REVIEW will serve chiefly as an organ for the advancement of theological learning, it will by no means exclude from its pages articles on other and more general subjects. It recognizes the truth that to Christianity, and, therefore, also to theology, nothing that is human is foreign. Natural science, philosophy, literature, ethics, sociology and kindred branches of knowledge, are at present engaging wide and earnest attention; and articles along these lines, written in the spirit of this REVIEW, are, accordingly, invited for its pages.

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